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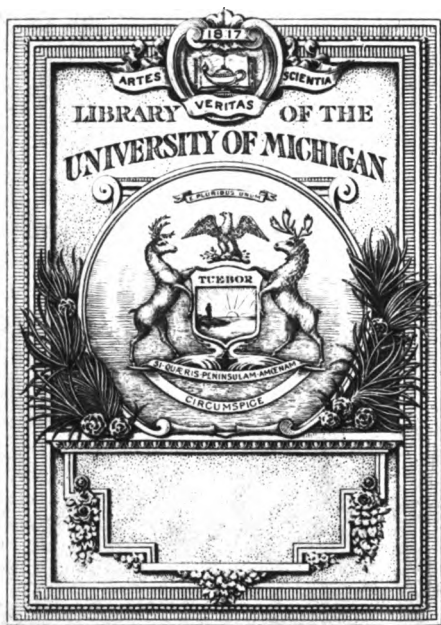
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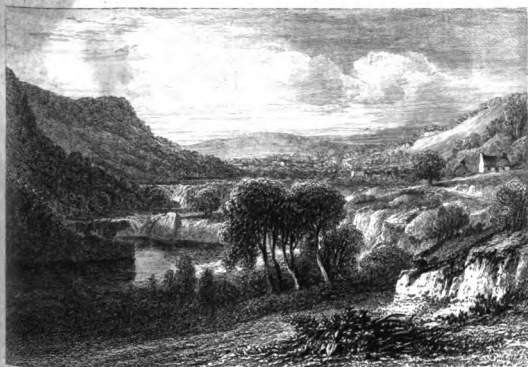
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,
IN
1689 AND 1715.

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OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
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REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND 1689-1715.



Drawn by D. O. Hill

Eng'd by W. Miller

THE BATTLE-GROUND OF KILLIECRANKY.

See Page 52.

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HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,

UNDER

THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE,

AND

THE EARL OF MAR,

IN

1689 AND 1715.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE REBELLION IN 1745," &c.

EDINBURGH:

**PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE AND CO.
AND HURST, CHANCE, AND CO. LONDON.**

1829.

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PREFACE.

THE present volume, containing an account of the domestic wars of Scotland in 1689 and 1715, is designed, with the "History of the Rebellions from 1638 to 1660," and the "History of the Rebellion of 1745," already published in Constable's Miscellany, to afford a complete view of the efforts made by the friends of the Stuart family in this country, to vindicate the cause of monarchical government and hereditary right.

Like its predecessors, it has been written rather with the wish of producing a piece of military narrative, than the hope of presenting any thing worthy of the term *history*; rather with the view of interesting the national feeling by local and personal details, than that of attracting attention from those who read with higher expectations. I think it necessary to state this in plain terms, and to request particular attention to it, as the titles of the previous volumes,

though adopted for conveniency only, have caused many to accuse me of a wish to degrade history, and of having presented the public with something different from what it had reason to expect. In my own justification for the adoption of such a word, I beg to remind the reader, that the meaning now attached to it is the result of fashion, and that, although usually applied to high-toned moral compositions, it may also be conferred, without a violation of its radical sense, upon simple narrative. I should be extremely sorry if I have led any one into the same sort of mistake with that committed, some forty years ago, by the managers of a certain country library, who ordered a copy of Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, under the idea that it was an amusing book of games. But, when I refer the reader to former prefaces, and beg his attention to this in particular, I believe he will hold me exculpated from any intention to deceive, as well as from the charge of presumption, if such was ever preferred.

The design entertained from the very commencement of these works, and which has governed their composition throughout, was to

supply my countrymen with as lively a delineation as possible of the mere scenery of certain transactions of past times in which they were interested: The higher objects of history I was prevented from attempting, if I had been willing, by the habits of a life, the greater part of which is occupied by commercial details, while only those hours can be devoted to literature which others in general spend in relaxation. In the performance of a task which was thus necessarily a humble one, I have spared no labour which I thought might conduce to the profit or enjoyment of the reader, often adventuring upon extensive lines of research, with but a very uncertain prospect of finding any matter to my purpose, and always endeavouring to make that a labour of love which, in other circumstances, I might have been contented to treat as a duty. A series of narratives has been thus produced, which, however much they may be wanting in literary graces, or in the higher qualifications of history, have at least the merit of embodying a greater show and better arrangement of facts, than any former works upon the same subjects.

With regard to the sources of information chiefly employed in this volume, I may mention that, in the first narrative, considerable use is made of a Memoir of the War of 1689, written by General Mackay, and which is still in manuscript; while in the second, I have been much indebted to a very extensive collection of pamphlets and books regarding the insurrections of 1715 and 1745, which has been formed by Mr Duncan M'Neill, advocate, and which its proprietor threw open to me with a liberality I cannot too warmly acknowledge. I have further much pleasure in adverting to the kind zeal with which Mr David Haig, of the Advocates' Library, exerted himself, on this, as on many other occasions, to introduce me to the stores of that munificent establishment.

To Mr D. O. Hill, the delineator of the Scenery of Perthshire, I am indebted for the very beautiful drawing of the Vale of the Garry—the battle-ground of Killiecranky, which ornaments the front of the volume.

HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, }
May 27. 1829. }

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION IN SCOTLAND,
IN 1689,
UNDER
THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

A

1

" I have brought before you a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law and justice, and the destruction of the Sicilian province, "—SWIFT.

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION IN SCOTLAND,
IN
1689.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

He was a kind of nothing, titleless,
Till he had forged himself a name i' the fire
Of burning Rome.

Coriolanus.

JOHN GRAHAM, the hero of this narrative, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Fife, a gentleman of moderate fortune, but who boasted of a descent from the noble family of Montrose, and also from the royal house of Stuart, his ancestor William Lord Graham of Kincardine having married the Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III. Sir William Graham was himself an respectable a proprietor,

as to have married into the noble family of Northesk. Lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John first Earl of Northesk, was the mother of the future Viscount of Dundee. The whole connections of the family were of what would now be called a decidedly Tory complexion; that is to say, they had exerted themselves in opposition to every innovative attempt which had been made upon the institutions of their country, from the Reformation downwards.

Young Graham was educated, during the decade of 1660-70, at the University of St Andrews, where he distinguished himself so much by his abilities, and also by his zeal in favour of the established religion, that he was honoured with the particular notice and friendship of Archbishop Sharpe. He made considerable progress in a department of learning, the technical name of which, as then used in Scotland, bore a startling dissonance with the character he acquired in after life — *the Humanities*.¹ It was to mathematics, however, that he chiefly directed his attention; a branch of study which certainly promised to be of greater service to one who designed to become a soldier. It is perhaps worthy of remark, that in this propensity he was resembled by Napoleon Buonaparte, who had some other points of character in common with him. Like Napoleon, Dundee was accustomed in youth to feed the desires of an ardent and romantic spirit with the wild narratives of the Highland bards; the only difference being, that the Scottish soldier drank his sentimental inflammation direct from its living receptacles, while the Italian could only receive it in

the colder form which was given to it by Macpherson. In addition to a fondness for Highland poetry, Dundee is said to have pored with rapture over the pages of Sallust, Nepos, and Plutarch. His mind probably acquired in this simple way, that bent towards high military enterprise, and that unbending principle of military honour, which have given his name, notwithstanding all the faults which attach to it, such a strong historical interest. ²

It was Dundee's opinion, in choosing and entering upon his profession, that, in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of it, he ought to serve under different foreign powers, and in every gradation of rank. He accordingly acted, for some time, at the commencement of his career, as a volunteer in the French service. When the war with Holland was concluded, and a sort of friendship established between that country and England, on account of the Prince of Orange (nephew of the British monarch) becoming Stadtholder, Dundee transferred his services to the other side of the Rhone. Becoming a cornet in the Prince of Orange's own troop of guards, he had the good fortune, while fighting in that capacity at the battle of Seneffe, (1674), to save the life of his master, by rescuing him, and bringing him off upon his own horse. The command of a Scotch regiment in the Dutch service falling vacant soon after that event, Dundee applied for it; but the Prince, though perhaps anxious to requite the merit of his preserver, was obliged, by a pre-engagement, to refuse his request. He then resolved to serve no longer in Holland, but to return home,

and offer his sword to his own sovereign, who was understood to require such services, on account of the turbulence of his Scottish subjects.

The Prince of Orange honoured him, at his departure, with a letter of recommendation to the Duke of York, in which there was an earnest request that he might be well provided for. The Duke having communicated this recommendation to King Charles, Dundee was soon after appointed to be captain of a regiment of horse, which was then in the process of being raised in Scotland, for the suppression of insurrections. There was something so pointed in the favour shown on this occasion to the young soldier, that we can scarcely wonder at the constancy with which he adhered ever after to the interests of his benefactors. The King was under the necessity of allowing the Duke of Lauderdale, his prime minister for Scotland, to fill up the commissions for the regiments then raised; his Grace probably making that a stipulation, for the purpose of providing for his own dependents. Charles demanded, or retained only one exception; and it was in favour of the friend and preserver of the Prince of Orange.

Dundee was then, (1677), let forth, with other adventurers, upon that crusade against the Whigs of the west of Scotland, which has procured his name so much popular execration. There was something extremely unfortunate in this part of his history, and especially so far as his reputation with posterity was concerned. The people whom he was employed to check, were a set of pious and worthy persons; originally, perhaps, sinning in the uncompromising vehemence with which they had conducted matters during the Civil War; but now

certainly far more sinned against in the ruthless persecution to which they were subjected by the government, on account of their religion. To explain the state of the country in one sentence, Scotland was then precisely in the same condition with Ireland at a more recent period. Her people, at least the inhabitants of her most important districts, were zealously attached to a form of worship, which was found to be adverse to the welfare of the state, and which was even adverse, in many of its points of doctrine, to the spirit of public liberty, but which was certainly much more dangerous in a condition of intoleration, than it could possibly have been, if countenanced by the government. Toleration was not then a recognised principle. The two last of the Stuart sovereigns, therefore, conceived it necessary to repress the religion of these people by extreme means, and to employ as instruments for doing so the inhabitants of another district, who, like the Orangemen in the neighbouring kingdom, were known to regard the recusants and their doctrine with equal detestation. It was thus simply on the grounds of local prejudice, of religion, and of political connections, that Dundee became engaged in this very unhappy war. If he displayed much prompt severity in his management of it, it might be excused by his favourite maxim, "that, if terror can be made to prevent or end a war, it is the truest mercy." ³

It is still perhaps to be regretted by those who admire the nobleness of nature which characterized this man, that he should have served his apprenticeship to glory in scenes so much the reverse of glorious, or that he should have at all condescended

to act in a sphere, which was, to say the least of it, unworthy of the soldier's best energies. It should be recollected, however, that, though well connected, and possessed of some reputation, Dundee entered the army in an inferior situation, and had no prospect of advancing himself except by a diligent performance of every duty which might successively occur to him. Perhaps he may be excused upon the metaphysical principle, that pride is not incompatible, in some minds, with a power of bending to necessity. He possibly was one of those individuals whose souls are such an exquisite compound of lofty aspirations and groundling common sense, that, for the very purpose of elevating themselves out of the irksomely humble situation in which they find themselves placed by fortune, they will heartily grapple with, and perform with the most serene punctuality, every duty connected with their place in society, carrying through degradation and drudgery a spirit which will eventually shine out, when the grand object is obtained, with uninjured splendour. Minds of this order resemble the fairy-gifted tent in the Arabian Tales, which was so small as to be carried in the pocket of the proprietor during the day, but at night could be expanded to such a width as to cover a whole army. The world, which is too apt to judge of men with a mere reference to their origin and early history, is seldom liberal enough to suppose, in the case of a man exalted above his native sphere, that he may have all along, from the very first, possessed a talent and a spirit which fitted him for high situations, but generally accounts for his rise by either the vulgar error of good fortune, or by suggesting that he was tempted forward, step by

step, by prospects which gradually opened before him. It is, however, abundantly evident that such minds often exist, and that their rise is entirely owing to the discretion with which they have managed their powers. Their merit was from the very first equally great, but only it was not prudent or possible, in their earlier situations, to give it ostensible shape. To such an order of minds—so great, yet so humble—so far reaching in contemplation, yet so diligent in minute employment—Dundee unquestionably belonged.

The superior activity he displayed above all his brother officers, is sufficiently proved, if better proof were wanting, by the distinction with which his name is still remembered by the common people in the south-west province of Scotland. Amidst all the heroes of that day—the Dalryells, the Griersons, and the Bruces,—no name seems to be impressed on the popular mind so deeply as that of “the Bloody Claver’s.” To such a degree, indeed, did his actions excite public sentiment in that superstitious age, that he was generally believed to have entered into a league with the powers of darkness, by which, in consideration of the abandonment of his salvation, he was rendered invulnerable in this world, and invested with a peculiar power of annoying the faithful. A beautiful white horse, which he generally rode, was supposed to be itself possessed by an evil spirit, for the purpose of furthering his unholy work; and mountain-sides are still shown in the Highlands of Tweeddale, almost as steep and verdant as turf-walls, along which the peasant informs us that Claverhouse could ride on his charmed steed, with such speed and security, as rather to resemble a winged bird

than an armed man. He was led into duties of this perilous nature by a desire of disturbing the conventicles held in these Alpine solitudes, and he no doubt dared much in pursuing the dreadful task he had undertaken. But it is easy to see that his miraculous adventures in this way were no more than what a man of daring spirit could easily perform, with the assistance of a powerful and sure-footed horse, and that this supernatural appearance was entirely occasioned by the extreme terror with which his unrelenting character had inspired the beholders.

There was something in the person of Dundee which tended to confirm the superstitious fear with which he was regarded. His figure was slight and of low stature, yet restless and active to such a degree, as might well excite the idea of its being the tabernacle of a demoniac spirit. His visage was beautiful even to effeminacy, and was still farther softened by a multitude of pendulous ringlets which he disposed around it, much after the female fashion of modern times, and which, it is remembered, he trained with much care into their proper arrangement, by wearing them in leads when in wadness. Yet, with all his perfect handsomeness, there was a fire in his full dark eye—an eye which looked down upon men like an eagle from his eyrie—and, moreover, there was a scornful rigour on his deep upper lip, which testified that his was any thing but the mind generally understood to be indicated by good looks. It was another peculiarity of his person, though one that could excite little more than wonder, that his hands and fingers were singularly long and delicate; a matter on which he seems to have prided himself much, as, in his

portrait by Sir Peter Lely, preserved at Glamis Castle, there is an evident endeavour on the part of the painter to give full advantage to it. ⁴

The events of Dundee's life which intervened betwixt his entering the King's service in 1677 and his rallying in favour of King James after the Revolution, may be briefly passed over. He was defeated at the skirmish of Loudon-hill, in May 1679, but shared next month in the victory gained by the royal forces over the insurgents at Bothwell-bridge. In 1682, he became, in company with his younger brother David, Sheriff of Wigtownshire, probably with a view, on the part of his constituents, that he should exert himself in a civil as he had already done in a military capacity, for the pacification of that disaffected district. In 1684, he was constituted commander of one of the Royal Regiments of Horse, ⁵ was sworn a privy-councillor, and had a gift of the Castle of Dudhope and the Constabulary of Dundee. About the same period he married Lady Jean Cochrane, daughter of William Lord Cochrane, eldest son of the Earl of Dundonald; a match considered extremely strange by all his friends, as the family of his wife was distinguished for puritanism. In consequence of his suspicious alliance, he was omitted from the list of privy-councillors made up on King James's accession in 1685, but was soon afterwards restored. He successively reached the ranks, of Brigadier-general in 1686, and of Major-general in 1688; and, on the 12th of November in the last inauspicious year, a week after the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was created Viscount of Dundee.

It is quite unnecessary to detail all the circum-

stances which led to the Revolution. It may be sufficient, in order to excite a sympathising spirit in the reader towards the events of the following narrative, to remind him that, if the last of the Stuart sovereigns governed their kingdoms with less prudence than the monarchs by whom it has been the happiness of Britain to be governed since, they *lived before them*, and at a time when fair government was neither known in principle, nor could well be proceeded upon in practice. It has now become a fashion to declaim against the lineal race of the royal family as a series of intractable despots, whom even misfortune could not improve. Yet, even supposing it fair to condemn men and principles of government which obtained in the seventeenth century, because they were more barbarous than those which obtain in the nineteenth,—and this alone seems the principle of the fashion alluded to,—is it like men of sense or candour to adopt a prejudice against a whole family on account of two generations, more especially as the very race by which the country is now so satisfactorily ruled, is sprung from precisely the same stock? To look through the spectacles of modern politics at the unfortunate individuals in question, and to condemn them for falling short of what is now considered the standard of prudential government, appears to the present writer very much like trying a criminal upon a *post-facto* law. The Stuarts may have been absurdly inflexible, and even severe; but it ought to be recollected that they had the management of the country during a tumult of public opinion, which must have taken place whether they existed or not, and which would have made it equally

difficult for any other sort of sovereigns to govern with discretion. If they became arbitrary, and cruel, it was only when the threats and violence of the republican party had given them a horror for every thing like opposition. Altogether, it seems by no means impossible, while appreciating the infinite advantages which have accrued to Britain from the deposition of this race of kings, to regard them nevertheless with a great portion of that tender and forgiving sentiment which occasioned the following and so many other attempts for their restoration.

B

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION.

To the Lords of Convention—'twas Claverse who spoke—
Ere the King's crown go down there are crowns to be broke !
Then let each Cavalier who loves honour and me,
Come follow the bonnets of bonny Dundee.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

WHEN it was first understood at the English court that the Prince of Orange designed to invade the kingdom, James thought it necessary to command all his Scottish forces to march southwards, that they might assist the English army in defending him against the expected attack. His Scottish forces then consisted of four regiments of foot, one of dragoons, and one troop of horse-guards; amounting in all to nearly ten thousand men, or a third of the whole available force of the two kingdoms. They were commanded by General Douglas, brother of the first Duke of Queensberry; Claverhouse being Major-general, and leader of the horse. They left Scotland at the beginning of October, in two detachments; the foot marching under the direction of General Douglas by Chester, and the horse under the charge of Claverhouse by York. They arrived at London, and joined

the English army under the command of the Earl of Feversham, on the 25th of October. ¹

The Prince of Orange having landed on the 5th of November at Torbay in Devonshire, King James advanced with his united army to meet him; and it was while he maintained his intention of fighting the invader, and while anxious to secure all possible friends to his interests, that he made Claverhouse a Viscount. His confidence, however, gave way, as he observed the defection of his chief officers and counsellors to the Prince, and successively heard of the insurrections which were taking place throughout the kingdom against him. Appalled at the danger in which he stood, he resolved to abandon his army, and retire to London. In that emergency, the most of his Scottish forces remained true to his interests. These men were of a less scrupulous spirit in regard to the arbitrary conduct of their master, and had been less alarmed by his late Catholic measures, than the English soldiery. Many of them were cadets of old Episcopalian and Catholic families in the north of Scotland, who felt their interest identified with that of King James. Some had acted for nearly their whole lifetime in behalf of the House of Stuart, through good report and bad report, and were now too old to make a ready change. For instance, the Earl of Airly rode in a high command in this little Tory army; a nobleman who had accompanied that Lucifer of cavaliers, the Marquis of Montrose, through all his wars, and who had since served the Stuarts for nearly half a century. It could not be expected that such men were inspired with the same notions regarding the salvation of church and state as the English sol-

diers ; and accordingly, while company after company, and officer after officer, left James's camp to join him who proposed to restore the constitution, the Scottish regiments remained firm around their legitimate sovereign almost to a man. It was among the chiefs of this band that James found the most faithful counsels, and the most affectionate offers of service. The Earl of Dunbarton, a son of the noble House of Douglas, who commanded one of the foot regiments (now the Scots Royals), offered, with a spirit worthy of his ancient chivalric race, to engage the invader with his own little corps ; certain, he said, that if he could not stop his progress, he would at least give him such a check as would cause the spirits of the King's friends to rally. Dundee advised the irresolute monarch to fight the Prince, at all hazards, with the force he had, or else go boldly to him in person, and demand his business in England ; and it is now every thing but certain, that if James had followed either of these two advices, or done something of an equally vigorous nature, he might have remained on the throne. Unfortunately for himself, he thought it more advisable to give way for the time to what he thought a merely accidental current of circumstances, in the hope of afterwards resuming the command of the empire with the increased power which always results from a suppressed rebellion. He told the Earl of Dunbarton, that he could not think of risking the lives of so many brave men in an action which could not be decisive ; and he rejected with equal firmness the advice tendered him by Dundee. He finally retired to London with a small guard, leaving his army without express commands of any kind, ei-

ther to fight or retreat. When intelligence of this fact was communicated to Lord Dundee and some other chiefs of the Scottish army, they could not help shedding tears. ²

Even after James had abandoned his army, Dundee continued to keep together all the men over whom he had any influence, in the hope that some opportunity might yet occur of serving his unhappy master. He retired out of the way of the advancing troops of the Prince of Orange, to Wallingford, intending to retreat from thence, if he saw occasion, towards Scotland, where he knew he might make a vigorous stand for the King, especially if, as was at one time contemplated, his Majesty were to accompany him. While quartered at Wallingford, he received a letter from the Prince of Orange, assuring him that, if he would stay there till he received further orders, none of his Royal Highness's army should touch him. On the same day, he received intelligence that the King, having been brought back by the populace from Feversham, whither he had retired with the intention of flying to France, was expected to be in Whitehall that night; in consequence of which information, rather than in obedience to the request of the Prince of Orange, he postponed his intended march, and rode up to London.

He waited on the unfortunate monarch next morning, in company with his friend the Earl of Balcarres, a nobleman who, like himself, united extreme Tory principles with a generous heart and a mind of high ability. The King received them with a warmth of affection proportioned to the distress of his circumstances; but could not help

asking, as he took a walk with them through the Mall, how they came to be with him, when all the world had forsaken him for the Prince of Orange. They replied, that they had no interests in common with the Prince of Orange ; for him nor for any other man, could they ever forsake a master who had loaded them with so many honours, and with so much gracious kindness. " I see, I see," cried the unhappy Prince, overpowered by this display of a feeling which he almost believed to have deserted the earth ; " you are the men I always took you to be ; you shall know all my intentions." He then informed them, that, seeing no prospect of remaining in Britain, except as a cipher, or as a prisoner to his ungenerous nephew—and here he repeated the celebrated saying of his father, " Short is the way between the prisons and the graves of kings"—he had resolved to take a temporary refuge in France. " When I am there," he added, " you shall receive my instructions : you, Lord Balcarres, shall have a commission to manage my civil affairs ; and you, Lord Dundee, to command my troops." ³ As is well known, he soon after put his fatal intention into execution.

When the Prince of Orange subsequently assumed the government, Dundee and Balcarres both had an interview with him. He solicited the former to enter once more into his service ; but Dundee refused without ceremony, stating for excuse, that he was under an oath of fidelity to King James, which he did not conceive himself at liberty to violate in favour of one who must now be looked upon as his declared enemy. William, with that fairness of mind which seems to have been characteristic of him, acknowledged the validity of

the excuse. On meeting, however, with a similar answer from Balcarres, he hinted that it would be necessary for him to live in observation of the laws, or else he would be obliged to let them take their course upon him. Both noblemen then retired to Scotland, under the protection of about twenty-four troopers, whom Dundee had brought with him, as a guard, from Wallingford. He at present found it impossible to bring away more of his men, because, General Douglas having gone over to the Prince, the whole army was at once reduced to his service, though, as it afterwards appeared, much against the will of the majority.

It had been determined, soon after William took possession of London, that the Scottish government should be settled, as the English was about to be, by a National Convention; and that Convention was appointed to meet on the 13th of March 1689. It was nearly the end of February before Dundee and Balcarres arrived, to exert themselves at the elections in favour of King James; and long ere that period, the measure of the Revolution had been virtually carried almost as decidedly as in England. If Scotland, from comparative barbarism, was destitute of that spirit of freedom which so remarkably distinguished her sister kingdom, she had another motive for shaking off the arbitrary reign of the Stuarts, which, if less respectable or worthy, was at least as strong. This was the spirit of religion. Inflamed by resentment for the depression of presbytery during the late reigns, and frantic with the hope of seeing it now rise triumphant, the Lowland peasantry had flocked to Edinburgh, on the very first intelligence of the advances of the Prince of Orange, and at once expelled the

court and the religion of the late monarchy. It now only remained to be seen in the Convention, what face the Northern loyalists and the hierarchy, under the guidance of Dundee, should present against the Southern and Western Whigs, sanctioned by the populace and the revolutionary government already established in England.

The parties were eventually found to be much more equal in strength than could have been expected: the friends of King James lost the election of a president of their complexion by only fifteen votes; a minority which must have been more than outbalanced, if the Highland clans, who were mostly favourable to them, had been represented in the house. This circumstance, however, was sufficient to determine all the subsequent measures. It proved that the old government was weaker than the new, and consequently gave all the undecided to understand, that with the new would now alone remain any chance of safety or patronage. Hitherto, many had sided with the Tories, from an idea that the opposite party was not strong or resolute enough to carry through the measure of the Revolution; but now all flocked to the ranks of the Whigs, except those who had a decided interest in the former state of things, or who could not overcome their scruples regarding the oath of allegiance to King James.

There was something extremely interesting in the circumstances under which the Convention met—something far more interesting, in its way, than there was in the assemblage of the English Convention. While the defenders of public liberty in England met in security, under the protection of their patron and saviour the Prince of

Orange, the Scottish Revolutionists had to assemble under the guns of a fortress, which was held against them by a Tory and a Catholic ; they were mingled up, even in their place of meeting, with a band of enemies nearly equal to themselves in number, who were suspected of entertaining the most unscrupulous designs regarding them. The very populace, which they had been obliged to call to their protection, gave an aspect of dreadful interest to their situation. That was composed chiefly of the westland Covenanters ; men who had come wild from their hills and muirs, bearing beneath their blue bonnets faces either sullen with recollection of wrongs, or beaming with expectations of revenge, and carrying under their gray plaids, for the work they were called upon, the swords and pistols which they had used against the House of Stuart at Pentland and Bothwell. It might be said that, in England, the genius of liberty rose, serene, spotless, and beautiful, out of the slight turmoil incidental to the time and crisis. But in Scotland, she burst upon the sight, with maniac looks, dishevelled attire, and still brandishing in her hand the dagger with which she had fought her way through the strife.

The first few days of the Convention were spent in endeavours on the part of the Whigs to get rid of their Tory associates, and of the armed force which hung over them. They cavilled at the election of almost every opponent, and by that means expelled a great number. They attempted to prevail upon the Duke of Gordon to give up the castle, which he professed to hold out for King James. And, being peculiarly embarrassed by the presence of Lord Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie, they

endeavoured to frighten them away, by reports of an intention being entertained by the Covenanters to assassinate them. Dundee and his friends soon saw how small was their chance of doing any thing for King James in such an assembly; and they agitated a proposal to hold a counter convention, formed entirely of loyalists, at Stirling, where they were empowered by a letter from their sovereign to assemble, and where they expected that the Earl of Mar, as governor of Stirling Castle, would afford them protection.

It has always hitherto been doubted by historians, whether this rumour of assassination was a ruse on the part of the Whigs to get quit of the two Tory chiefs, or a ruse on their own part to excuse the retirement which they contemplated from the Convention. The present writer, with deference, is disposed to think that it existed independent of both parties. He finds, at least, a circumstance mentioned in the Minutes of the Convention (not observed by any former writer), which, as it could scarcely be got up for the purpose by either side, seems to give probability to such a conclusion. It is recorded in these Minutes, under date of Saturday, March 16th, that James Binnie, dyer, appeared before the Convention, and declared, that he heard two men in his own house, the day before, avow a resolution "to use these dogs, the Lord Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie, as they had been used by them," inquiring at the same time for their lodgings, and averring that they should not escape them, though they might not execute their project for some nights. When it is called to mind that the same class of men had assassinated another of their arch-enemies (Sharpe)

Only ten years before, there is little difficulty in supposing that they might now entertain the intention of at once doing the state service, and gratifying themselves, by a similar act of revenge against two equally obnoxious individuals. Among the multitudes which flocked to Edinburgh on this occasion, there must have been many who traced the ruin of their families and the destruction of their own happiness, not to speak of the depression of their religion, to these ministers of the late government; and among that number there could scarcely fail to be some one or two, who, drawing the usual sanction for such an action from the pages of the Old Testament, had resolved, as their own favourite phraseology ran, to execute God's vengeance upon them.

Whether the rumour arose from a serious design, or from the stratagem of a party, it is certain that Dundee took advantage of it, as an ostensible excuse for his retirement. It appears from a memoir of these transactions, drawn up by the Earl of Balcarres, that he had concerted the design of retiring *before* the rumour met his ears. When he was informed of it, he flew to the Convention, and demanded that a party might be sent to search the house in which the intending assassins were said to lurk. The members absolutely refused to interfere in the case; on which he left them, to settle with his friends regarding the project of the Counter-Convention. It was agreed that day, that on Monday they should all meet at a certain place of rendezvous in the city, and forthwith proceed to Stirling; the Marquis of Athole agreeing to go with them, and to bring down a body of Highlanders from his estates, to serve as their guard.

Measures had previously been taken to edify the Duke of Gordon in his resolution to hold out Edinburgh Castle for King James.

It happened, unfortunately for Dundee, that before Monday some of his most important adherents failed in their purpose. When they met on the morning of that day, and before Dundee appeared, the Marquis of Athole, who was by far their most influential man, requested that they might wait another day, and, in the mean time, to prevent suspicion, attend the Convention as usual. They had accordingly dispersed to go to the Parliament-house, when Dundee came to the place, with his thirty troopers, all ready for the march, and was confounded to hear of the adjournment of their design. It was now, of course, too late for him to think of remaining on terms with the Convention. The appearance of his attendants on the streets,—they had previously been concealed—was in itself a declaration of war against the house. He was therefore reduced to the necessity of quitting the town by himself; leaving only a message for his associates, that he would linger on the way, in the hope that they might escape after him.

The manner of Dundee's departure from Edinburgh was highly characteristic of the man: it was quite worthy of one who had so long acted in defiance of natural feelings, for the sake of an abstract principle. He rode out of the city by one of its eastern avenues—Leith Wynd—followed by his small but chosen band of troopers. Being asked by a friend whom he met where he was going, he waved his hat, and, in a fit of lofty enthusiasm, partly arising from political, and partly from family feeling, exclaimed, "Wheresoever the spirit

of Montrose shall direct me!"⁴ On clearing the suburbs, he turned to the west, and galloped with his men along the edge of the bank which overhung what was then a lake defending the city on the north side; a way which now forms the site of Princes Street, and from whence, of course, his cavalcade made a conspicuous appearance in the eyes of the citizens, who flocked to that side of the town to see it. It is needless to remark what sensations must have filled men's breasts, when they saw the terrible Claverhouse thus break the wand of peace with them, and declare his intention of using all his power to thwart their scheme of political regeneration. They could scarcely fail to behold him and his band, small as they were in physical force, with the utmost wonder and dread. Before quitting their sight, he performed a deed which tended to deepen their impressions of awe for his singularly daring character. Leaving his men on the bank opposite to the castle, he went forward alone to the bottom of the tall rock on which that fortress is situated; deliberately began to clamber up the crags on the west side; and, with no small danger to himself, at length reached the bottom of the walls. The Duke of Gordon then issued from a postern, (which was visible in the time of Sir John Dalrymple,⁵ though built up), and held a conference with him, in that singular situation, regarding the prospects of their party.

No exact or authentic report has ever been given of the conversation of the two cavalier noblemen. But it is commonly affirmed, that Dundee entreated his Grace to leave the fortress under the charge of a faithful lieutenant of the name of

Winram, and to accompany him to the Highlands, that he might there employ his immense patrimonial influence in raising an insurrection. The Duke is said to have concealed his timidity under the excuse of a soldier. "A soldier," he said, "cannot in honour quit the post that is assigned to him." Dundee then left him, with an entreaty that he would at least hold out the Castle till relieved.

The sight of these two grand public enemies in open conference with each other, joined to the circumstances under which that conference took place, caused the utmost consternation in Edinburgh. Hundreds flocked from the city to witness the strange scene, and, being mistaken by others for adherents of Dundee, a report arose, that he was mustering his forces to attack the Convention. Among other rumours, it was affirmed that the Duke of Gordon was about to fire upon the Parliament-house. When the news reached the Convention, the Duke of Hamilton, its revolutionary president, ordered the doors of the house to be bolted, and the keys to be laid upon the table before him. There was danger, he cried, within as well as without doors; but he would do his best to secure the safety of all wellwishers to their country, by detaining those who were the reverse, so that they might serve as hostages for the good behaviour of their accomplices. Thus, he said, the friends of liberty would have little to fear for the present; and as for the future, he could, by a stamp of his foot, call up thousands of willing men to their protection. He then, with the consent of the house, ordered the Earl of Leven to go forth into the city; to cause drums to be beat and trum-

pets sounded through its streets ; to gather together all who were well affected to religion and liberty ; and, with the band he might collect, to attack and disperse any body of men who were in arms without warrant of the Convention. All this was promptly executed ; and in the meantime, while the noise of a city rising in arms was heard from without, the friends of the exiled monarch sat mingled with their enemies, confounded at the danger which seemed impending over them, and at the impossibility of consulting with each other regarding their common interests. The feeling of that dreadful hour, with both the friends and the enemies of liberty, must have been, that they would require to wait till a conflict took place around their house of assembly between their respective parties of armed friends ; after which, they would be relieved or massacred as either party happened to be triumphant, if not previously destroyed without discrimination by the bombs of the Castle.

It being ascertained in time that Dundee had quietly departed with his thirty troopers, and that the friends of the Whig party had mustered so strong as to put them out of all danger from the other party, this dreadful crisis passed harmlessly away. The president, however, judged it expedient to send a messenger after the retiring nobleman, commanding his immediate return to the assembly. A Major Bunting was selected, with a troop of about eighty horse, to perform this somewhat hazardous piece of service ; and it is said that he had secret orders, in case of finding Dundee restive, to seize his person and bring him back by force. The pursuers soon overtook the retiring loyalists, who were deliberately pacing along the

road to Stirling by Linlithgow. When Dundee saw them advancing, he permitted his troop to go on before, and, falling back towards Bunting, entered into conversation with him. Bunting delivered the message of the Convention, and mentioned the alternative measure which he was commanded to take, in the event of finding his lordship unamenable to their commands. Dundee only replied, that he would advise him to go back to the Convention, without giving him further trouble, or *his* alternative measure would be "to send him back to them in a pair of blankets." At this dreadful hint, Bunting, though attended by double the number of Dundee's troop, judged it most prudent to withdraw.⁶

The Convention was dismissed that day, without any attempt being made against the Tory members. Nevertheless, the resolution which had been displayed by their opponents, and the armed force which was now openly arrayed against them, caused many to give up the project of doing any thing for King James at the present juncture. The very men who were to have taken the most prominent part in the counter-convention abandoned the scheme. The Earl of Mar, who was to have been its landlord, attempted to go out of town by the only gate which was guarded, and thus gave himself up to the enemy. The Marquis of Athole, who was to have been its guard, remained quietly in town. In fine, many went over to the ranks of the Whigs; others betook themselves to their country seats; and scarcely any went to join Dundee.⁷

That nobleman being known next day to have lodged for the night at Linlithgow, the Convention sent a macer to inform him, that, if he would lay

down his arms within twenty-four hours, he should have an indemnity for all he had done ; but that, if he did not do so, they would hold him guilty of treason. The man returned, before the rise of the meeting, with a report, that, not finding Dundee at Linlithgow, he had left a copy of their message at the house where he lodged.⁸ The message had no effect. Dundee, when he found the scheme of the Tory Convention frustrated, proceeded to his own house, near the town of Dundee, where he lived for some time in apparent idleness, though in reality engaged in active correspondence with the northern chiefs, for the purpose of exciting an insurrection.

Twelve days after his departure from Edinburgh (March 30th), when some other vain attempts had been made to bring him back, he was, according to the ordinary legal ceremonial of Scotland, thrice called for in the Parliament-house, and as often at its gate ; and, on his failing to appear, he was denounced as a traitor, both in the Convention and at the market-cross of the city.⁹

When the Whig members had thus got rid of their Tory associates, they proceeded to settle the nation, by declaring King James to have forfeited the crown, and proclaiming King William and Queen Mary in his stead. This ceremony took place on the 11th of April, by which time James had gone to Ireland, with the intention of fighting his way back to the throne by the assistance of his Catholic subjects.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENCEMENT OF DUNDEE'S
INSURRECTION.

Clown. I am gone, Sir ;
But anon, Sir,
I'll be with you again.
Twelfth Night.

It may be proper, before proceeding further with the narrative of Dundee's adventures, to state in express terms the prospects which he had of doing any effective service for his master in this remote portion of the empire.

Scotland was at this time divided, almost locally, into two parties. The inhabitants of the southern and western provinces were generally Presbyterians, and, of course, advocates of a revolution which promised supremacy to their religion. The people of the northern counties, and of the Highlands, were as generally Episcopalians, and, of course, adverse to a measure which threatened their church-government with destruction. Religion, and religion exclusively, actuated all ; for there was not then, nor for nearly a century afterwards, any party in Scotland who entertained just or liberal views of civil freedom.

It was Dundee's task to play the Episcopalians against the Presbyterians, the north against the south ; and, as the latter party had already been triumphant in the house of Convention, it remained to be seen if it would bear up with equal success against its opponents in the field. That it would do so, must have been at the moment a matter of doubt. A great deal of the success of the Presbyterians at the Convention was owing to the accidental circumstance of their residing nearer the place where it assembled, which enabled them to overawe the Tories with their armed and personal presence ; and much more, perhaps, was owing to the countenance they derived for their proceedings from the revolutionary party in England, and the assurance of protection from King William, in case of their also accepting him for their sovereign. Now, however, when the military strength of the Revolutionists was about to be called away to Ireland, and Britain was left in some measure defenceless ; now, when the spirits of King James's friends were beginning to rally, and many, formerly of a revolutionary temper, were beginning to feel a little shocked at the violation of all natural feeling upon which William's invasion had proceeded ; the chances of ultimate triumph were much more nearly balanced in favour of both parties. There was also this grand circumstance in favour of the Cavaliers. Though perhaps a little inferior in numbers, and even in intelligence, to the Whigs and Presbyterians, their partisans were far more likely to acquit themselves well in the field. The Lowlanders were, upon the whole, a peaceful people. With the exception of the peasantry of Clydesdale and Ayrshire, who had been

long in a state of rebellion, they were incapable of being organized at once as a military body. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, could bring from the Highlands alone as many ready armed and willing soldiers as might, under the direction of a leader like Dundee, far more than overcome the utmost force which the Low Countries could set up against them. Besides, it was likely that, as the first fervour of the Revolution went off, and people began to feel that the new government had also its evils, the party which held out for King James would increase in numbers. If James had a party at the time when the recollection of his misrule was still recent, and when that of his rival was invested with all the promise of youth, what might he not expect so soon as that recollection became dulled, as it was sure to be by time, and the people began to experience the evils of a disputed succession?

Yet, though Dundee had thus so good a chance of raising an armed party for his master in Scotland, he himself seems to have considered an auxiliary force from Ireland as indispensably necessary to produce the desired result. James, acting under the same opinion, had enjoined him, and all other friends, to remain quiet till such time as a body of troops should be sent over to their assistance. He had also as yet abstained from sending Dundee the commission of generalship which he had promised him, when walking in the Mall, after his return from Feversham. Thus matters stood; the Tory noblemen all retired to their country-seats; the bishops in concealment, or, as Dundee expressed himself in a letter, "*the Kirk Invisible*;" and the people every where tranquil; when, to-

wards the end of March, a body of Dutch infantry, about eleven hundred in number, and two hundred dragoons, arrived at Edinburgh, for the protection of the Revolutionists. This body was under the command of Major-General Mackay, a Highland soldier of fortune, who had had some experience in the Prince of Orange's Continental wars.

When thus reinforced, the Convention became far more confident in their strength than before. They now passed an act, enabling their president to imprison any person whom he might suspect of disaffection; one of the most arbitrary and tyrannical measures ever adopted by any government, and which was destined, as generally happens with all such measures, to precipitate the very conclusion which it was meant to intercept.

In consequence of this act, the Duke of Hamilton sent a strong party of troops to apprehend the Earl of Balcarres and the Viscount Dundee at their respective country-seats. Balcarres, being the nearest, was taken by surprise, brought to Edinburgh, and confined in a dungeon; where no friend was permitted to approach him, nor any body even to speak to him, except through the keyhole; perhaps the most illegal and unjustifiable proceeding which took place throughout all the violences of the seventeenth century, except the execution of Archbishop Laud. Dundee, however, procuring intelligence of the mission sent against him, before it crossed over the Firth of Tay, had time to make a safe retreat to the Highland frontier.

He was there residing—in correspondence, it is true, with the Highland chiefs, but still ostensibly

at peace—when a larger body of troops was sent against him by the Convention, under the charge of Mackay himself. Mackay rendezvoused his forces at Dundee, which he considered a good *point-d'appui* for his operations against the disaffected district beyond it; and, taking with him two hundred and fifty of his best horse, and nearly as many of his Dutch infantry, he proceeded to beat up Dundee's quarters. Dundee had by this time made an excursion into the Duke of Gordon's Country north of the Dee, to sound the affections of that nobleman's numerous cavalier vassals; and he was now returned to the Cairn-a-Mount, on his way back to Glenoglevy, a seat which he had in the Braes of Angus, where he had taken refuge after being driven from Dundee. Mackay procured intelligence of his motions, and, learning one day that he was to lodge for the night at Fettercairn, a village about eight miles north of Brechin, projected a design of surprising him. To prevent intelligence from travelling northward, he planted a strong guard at Gannachy Bridge; and he had another troop ready to proceed at the proper moment, and fall in with all due expedition upon the village. Dundee, however, was prevented from lodging that night at Fettercairn, by receiving intelligence on his march of Mackay's invasion of Angus; which caused him to wheel about, and march back to the Gordon territory, which he had just left. The only result of this appearance of an army against him, was to drive him headlong into that insurrection which he might have otherwise delayed for some time.

Mackay, on learning that Dundee was gone

northward, selected about forty of his best and soundest horse, and, with the two hundred Dutch foot, went immediately in hard pursuit over the hills. In thus beginning his campaign, it appears that he entertained great hopes of being joined, as he went along, by a number of revolutionary gentlemen, who, before he left Edinburgh, had promised him their utmost assistance. He was soon compelled to acknowledge the falsity of these expectations. When he came into the countries belonging to his promised auxiliaries, the gentlemen were either absent, or their people would not obey them by rising in favour of the new government. He himself informs us, in a memoir which he wrote after his campaign, ¹ that in all the countries between Tay, he found a wonderful indifference to the cause which he was sent to defend: the people were either besotted with the Episcopalian doctrines of passive obedience, or had no zeal of any kind except for the preservation of their worldly goods. And indeed the facts of his campaign sufficiently show the justness of these impressions. Of all the gentlemen who had promised him assistance, betwixt the Tay and the Spey, no one proved true except the Master of Forbes, eldest son to the chief of the great Whig clan of that name. This personage met him, as he crossed the Dee, with forty horse, and five hundred foot. Even they, though thus numerous and willing, were not of the least service to him. They were, according to his own report, so ill armed, and looked so little like their work, that he feared they would rather be an encumbrance than a help. He therefore judged it necessary to leave them behind, with only a speech of thanks for their good will. He

thought it would be a great deal better, he said, that they should remain to guard their own country; and probably the Forbeses thought so too.

As he proceeded in pursuit through Aberdeenshire and Murray, he learned that Dundee had gone forward to Inverness, where he was suddenly put in possession of something like an army, by the accession of nearly a thousand Highlanders to his banner, under Macdonald of Keppoch. This bold and restless chieftain had had a dispute, some time before the Revolution, with the Laird of MacIntosh, regarding his lands, which ended in a commission from James II., to visit him (Keppoch) with the penalties of fire and sword as a rebel. Keppoch afterwards gained a victory over the forces of MacIntosh, and was now so strong as to be able to lay the town of Inverness under the terror of military law, in revenge for the townsmen having sided against him with his enemy. When Dundee reached Inverness in his retreat, he found the infuriate chieftain threatening the citizens with extreme vengeance, unless they should pay him a high pecuniary penalty. They were totally unable to do so; and it is probable that, in the present unsettled state of the country, the menaces of their enemy would have been put into complete execution, but for the interference of some powerful spirit like that of Dundee. Immediately perceiving how fatal such quarrels must be to his scheme of raising the Highlands, he, with the utmost promptitude, granted a bond to the chieftain of Keppoch, obliging himself to see the town of Inverness pay him two thousand dollars as a compensation for the injuries he complained of; by which well-timed act of generosity, he at once

reduced to his friendship a town which a few days before had proclaimed the Prince of Orange, and converted to the service of King James a numerous clan, which but the year before had suffered the severest hardships at the hands of that monarch.

He now felt so confident of his strength as to entertain an intention of marching back to meet the troops of General Mackay, which were, about this period, crossing the Spey in pursuit. Accordingly, as Mackay approached Elgin, he was put in possession of a letter which the magistrates of that town had received from Dundee, requiring quarters to be provided for his troops, which he said would lodge there that night, on their way to meet the enemy. Mackay was excessively alarmed at the news, which all at once reduced him from the offensive to the defensive; and, but for the certainty of the mischief which a retreat at this juncture would occasion to the interests of his master, he would have instantly fallen back upon the reserves which he had left at Brechin. As the case was, he resolved at all hazards to stand firm; and his men, though so few in number, fortunately seconded his resolution. Crossing over the Spey, he proceeded with the utmost expedition to take possession of the town which Dundee was that night to have occupied; and such was the good will with which the Dutch infantry obeyed his commands, that they kept up a hard trot beside the horse for the whole distance between the river and their quarters, amounting to at least eight miles.

This bold step on the part of Mackay seems to have intimidated Dundee; at least it prevented

him from making his proposed approach to Elgin. Finding, soon after, that the enemy was reinforced by a detachment of horse from Brechin, and that the Laird of Grant and some other Whig chiefs were disposed to join him, he thought it advisable, more especially as King James had not yet granted his sanction to hostile proceedings, to retire into Athole. Mackay then marched forward and posted himself at Inverness, from whence he issued orders for the well-affected gentry of the north to join him ; and despatched a letter to Edinburgh, requesting that Colonel Ramsay might be sent to him, with six hundred picked men of the Dutch regiments.

The condition of the Highlands was at this time particularly favourable for Dundee's purpose. In addition to their usual causes for siding with the legitimate sovereign, some of the clans had now one which generally overrules all others in ordinary life ; namely, a personal interest in the event of the enterprise. It is scarcely necessary to remind the Scottish reader that the Argyle family, for many centuries, maintained quarrels regarding property with various neighbouring clans. At the present time, in consequence of the attainder of the Earl of Argyle by Charles II., the chiefs of these clans had in general procured royal grants of the property they claimed. When the Revolution came, there seemed an immediate prospect that William, for whose sake the Earl might almost be said to have lost his estate, would reverse the attainder, and consequently restore to his son all the family possessions. Such a prospect naturally disposed the MacDonalds, Camerons, MacLeans, and others, who had present possession, to oppose

the Revolution with all their force. Mackay was informed of this, soon after he came to Edinburgh, by the Viscount Tarbat, who at the same time professed his belief that, if King William would pay Argyle a compensatory sum, instead of restoring these properties, the Highlanders would give him no trouble; and he mentioned the small sum of five thousand pounds as all that would probably be necessary to accomplish so good an end. Mackay was so much struck with the force of what Tarbat said, that he immediately communicated it to King William, who lost no time, in his turn, to give orders for putting the scheme in execution. Unfortunately, the Scottish state-officers pitched upon Campbell, Laird of Cawdor, for mediator, a gentleman whose very name was sufficient to mar the business, even although he had proceeded about it with all the necessary promptitude; which he does not appear to have done. It was accordingly abortive. Mackay some time after wrote to MacDonald of Glengarry, requesting him to enter into terms for a submission to the new government; but the chieftain, while he returned a perfectly civil answer, mocked him with a counter request, that he would play General Monk, and use his forces for the restoration of King James.²

In the mean time, Dundee used all his eloquence, and all the influence of his high reputation, to excite the chieftains whom he passed in his march to prepare for taking up arms. All whom he applied to in passing through Badenoch, assured him of their support, except the Laird of MacIntosh; to punish whom he sent the Keppoch MacDonalds to drive away his cattle. After appoint-

ing a general rendezvous in Lochaber on the 18th of May, he descended, with his small troop of horse, upon Athole, where he was received with great cordiality by Stuart of Ballechan, bailie or steward to the Marquis of Athole, and by all the other gentlemen of the district, notwithstanding that their noble superior remained at Edinburgh in a solemn profession of obedience to King William. From Athole he marched down to Perth, which he approached with such expedition and secrecy, that he surprised the Lairds of Pollock and Blair in their beds, together with some other persons in arms for the Convention, all of whom he made prisoners. Here he seized nine thousand merks of the King's cess and excise, which he found in the office of the collector of the revenue. It was afterwards considered very strange that he did not also take a sum of about five hundred pounds, which happened to be lying in the same room. But those who looked upon this as a wonder, knew little of Dundee. The grand principle on which he acted, was, according to his own declaration, to do every thing "for conscience and loyalty's sake." He esteemed himself at liberty to take the King's money from the hands of his enemies, to be used in his own service. But he would scorn to rob any private individual of a farthing. With similar views of public spirit, he took care that the town did not receive the least damage from his soldiery. ³

From Perth he marched to Dundee, where lay two troops of Livingston's regiment of dragoons, whom, according to previous concert, he expected to revolt to him. But they were prevented from doing so by the presence of Colonel Balfour, a

Whig officer of incorruptible loyalty, and whose character was such as to keep them in check. He finally returned through Angus and Athole to Lochaber, in order to hold the rendezvous which he had appointed with the clans.

CHAPTER IV.

MARCHES AND COUNTERMARCHES.

Lys. This lion is a very fox for his valour.

The. And a very goose for his discretion.

Midsummer Night's Dream.

IN the meantime, Mackay was lingering at Inverness, in the hope of being speedily joined by the vassals of the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Reay, and by the large Dutch party which he had sent for from Edinburgh.

Had that Dutch party commenced its march immediately after receiving his order, it might have easily reached him, and thus a great deal of mischief would have been saved. Unfortunately, just as it was about to leave Edinburgh, a large fleet of Dutch herring busses appeared at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, and, being mistaken for the vessels of a French fleet which rumour represented as about to invade the kingdom, it was thought necessary by the managers of state affairs to detain the forces as a guard to the capital. The mistake was discovered in the course of a few days, and Colonel Ramsay then began his march. He proceeded by Perth, intending, according to the advices of his General, to march through Athole and

Badenoch to Inverness. As he proceeded, however, he became intimidated by the hostile appearance of the country, and by a report which the natives industriously circulated, that Dundee was between him and Inverness, with an immense force. So great did his alarm at length become, that, after he had gone within twenty miles of Ruthven in Badenoch, where he had appointed Mackay to meet him, and after he had sent an express to inform the general of the particular time when he should be there, he found it necessary to retreat to Perth. Had he left Edinburgh two days before, he would have met a messenger whom Mackay despatched to steer him clear of Dundee, but who, passing through Athole at a time when it was unawed by the presence of his forces, was intercepted by Stewart of Ballechan. To add to the misfortune, Ballechan sent the despatches of this messenger to Dundee, who, immediately taking advantage of them, concentrated about two thousand of his forces, and hurried from his place of rendezvous in Lochaber, in order to fall upon the first of the two parties which fell in his way, while they were yet separate.

Mackay received Colonel Ramsay's despatch on a Saturday night; and such was his laudable promptitude to make the contemplated junction, that he was on the march next morning from Inverness to Ruthven, with only two days' provisions. It was not till he was half way towards the point of meeting, that he received information of Ramsay's retreat. The Commander of the garrison of Ruthven there met him with a message, which at once put him in possession of that intelligence, and increased his distress, by telling him that Dundee had

just that morning entered Badenoch, and was now only a few miles distant. It is not easy to conceive the chagrin which a soldier in his circumstances must have felt at receiving this express.

It now remained for him either to fall back upon Inverness, or to march down Strathspey. In the former case, he would preserve an important post, which could afford lodging to his men; but was exposed to the risk of being shut up by Dundee from all supplies, and prevented from forming a junction with Colonel Ramsay. In the latter case, he would lose an important post, but might have the compensatory advantages of keeping Dundee away from the Duke of Gordon's country, of protecting that of the Laird of Grant, who was now with him, a valuable auxiliary, and of being able to communicate with his detachments in the south by the way of Angus. Out of two possible evils, he says in his Memoirs, he chose the last and least apparent—to move down Strathspey.

After a toilsome march of twenty-four hours, he gained the lower and more champaign part of that grand valley. Dundee followed close behind, and encamped at the distance of a few miles, in a more hilly part of the vale. After a short period of refreshment, the Whig general, thinking he might adventure a slight trial of strength with the enemy, made a secret and nocturnal advance towards his leaguer, till he got to a pass within a mile of it; when all at once, about ten in the morning, he showed himself, and gave symptoms of a desire to come to an action. Dundee, however, did not take the least notice of his approach, being perfectly secure, by the nature of the ground, from any attack he might make, at the same time

that he was anxious rather to avoid than to come to an engagement. Mackay waited till late in the afternoon, in the hope of provoking him from his position ; after which he fell back to his own camp. He afterwards learned, as he himself informs us, that the Highlanders were not altogether unmoved at his approach, however indifferent their commander might have been. The Camerons, he says, no sooner learned that he was advancing, than they ran with the greatest precipitation to the hills, a distance of more than six English miles. The truth is, the Highlanders had never, at any period of their previous history, been brought to face regular troops, more especially regular cavalry, whom they regarded with peculiar respect and fear ; and they were now anxious, in case of being obliged to fight them, at least to have an advantage in respect of ground.

Mackay now judged it expedient to pitch himself in some situation where he could wait in security till he was joined by the portions of his army at present in the south. He chose a place called Colmnakill, about six miles farther down the Spey, where a tributary stream, debouching into that river, gave him protection on one side, while the river itself covered his rear, and where a summer lodge belonging to the Laird of Grant offered him at once lodging and provision. When he had fairly pitched himself, he selected a dozen of the tenants of the Laird of Grant, to act as intelligencers between his camp and that of the enemy. And he at the same time sent another of the Laird's tenants, an experienced and trust-worthy person, to hasten the march of his detachments out of Angus. Here he was soon gratified by the

junction of the two troops of Sir Thomas Livingston's regiment of dragoons, who had hitherto lain at Dundee.

Sir Thomas Livingston was one of those innumerable officers, civil and military, who, at the Revolution, found it convenient to accept of employment and pay under the new government, without, at the same time, thinking it at all necessary to resign their attachment to the old. We are told by Crichton, that, on his succeeding to the command of Dundee's regiment at the retirement of that nobleman to Holland, he came down to Congleton, where the men were lying, to inquire which of them would serve King William, and which would not: one of the officers gave him to understand, that, having sworn allegiance to King James, they could not, in honour and conscience, draw a sword against him; whereupon Sir Thomas, falling down upon his knees, drank a devout health to the exiled sovereign, and exclaimed, that he wished he might be damned, whenever he should command them to break that oath. An understanding being thus established between the Colonel and his men, they marched down to Scotland, for the apparent purpose of helping General Mackay to suppress Lord Dundee, though in reality intending to seize the first opportunity of revolting to the service of their old master.

It would really surprise a modern British officer, accustomed as he is to pay an undivided allegiance to his sovereign and country, to learn the uncertainty of principle which the extreme perplexity of the times introduced into the army at the period here under review. With affections

still clinging to King James on the one hand, and a necessity for King William's pay on the other, a great number of officers actually seem to have fought for the one sovereign with their right hand, and for the other with their left. It was a situation of the utmost distraction and difficulty, and one which assuredly could not fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the minds of many individuals. The readers of general history are aware of the great degree to which this slipperiness of allegiance characterized King William's servants of all kinds; but perhaps he is not acquainted with any instance more striking than what is afforded by the conduct of Sir Thomas Livingston's regiment. The following narrative of its intrigues is compiled partly from the Life of Crichton, who, as Captain, was an active agent in them, and partly from the manuscript Memoirs of General Mackay.

The reader has already seen that General Douglas, (brother of the Duke of Queensberry), who commanded the Scottish army on its march to England in October 1688, turned without scruple to the service of the Prince of Orange, so soon as it became evident that he would be successful in his enterprise. This man, it appears from Crichton's report, was still a secret, though uncertain intriguer in favour of King James. When Crichton was in Edinburgh with the regiment, immediately before the meeting of the Convention, he went to pay his respects to the Earl of Dunmore, a Tory, who had formerly been his commander. The Earl invited him to come to a tavern, where he would dine with General Douglas, Lord Kilsyth, and Captain Murray, a host of officers whom

he was pleased to term "all his ain lads." Crichton naturally objected to General Douglas, who had shown so much alacrity in deserting to King William. But Dunmore reassured him by saying, that he would pawn his life for the honour of the suspected individual. "Lord Dundee," said the Earl, "assured me that Douglas had given him his faith and honour to be with him in five days, if he were once marched to the hills to declare for King James." Crichton having then agreed to go to the tavern, this set of traitorous conspirators met to dine together, and hold high converse-regarding their prospects of doing service to their late master.

It happened, just as dinner was done, that news of King James's arrival in Ireland was communicated to them; upon which General Douglas, taking a beer-glass, and looking round him, said, "Gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread; here is his health." He drank upon his knees, and all the rest of the company did the same. Then filling another bumper, he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a sword against him. This very man, instead of fulfilling the promise he had made to Dundee, or abstaining from drawing a sword against his late master, almost immediately after went to Ireland as Lieutenant-General to King William, and distinguished himself to an extraordinary degree by the severity of his conduct against the Catholic partisans of King James.

Crichton soon after went with the regiment to Dundee, where, on the very first night of his arrival, according to a plan concerted with Lord Kilsyth, he got privately into Dudhope Castle, and assured Lady Dundee that the regiment should

be at her Lord's service whenever he might be pleased to require it. Her Ladyship found means next day to convey this intelligence to Lord Dundee, who speedily sent a note back to Crichton, by a ragged Highland boy, informing him that, whenever he received his expected supplies from Ireland, so as to begin the war in good earnest, he would expect to be joined by his old regiment.

This assurance from his former officers was of the greatest service to Dundee in his design of raising the Highland clans, because it enabled him to overcome a great deal of the scruples which they had to engage against an army containing horse. He took care, every time he received any communication from his lady on the subject, or from the officers themselves, to make it well known to the chieftains ; and he also endeavoured to make it appear, that he was only induced to permit them to remain with the enemy, by the hope of their being able eventually to deliver up the whole army to him at the time they delivered up themselves. There really was an intention to that effect entertained by the treacherous dragoons ; and it would have been in all probability carried into successful execution, but for an accidental circumstance.

Only two days after the two troops of horse had joined Mackay's camp, a pair of deserters came over from Dundee's leaguer, and, being introduced to the presence of the General, confounded him with a disclosure of the design entertained against him. Mackay was at first so much surprised, that he hesitated to believe what the men told him. He charged them with being spies sent over to learn the condition of his camp, and he

took care to threaten them with the fate proper to such officials, in case of his discovering that they were so. They met his threats with great firmness of demeanour, and expressed the utmost willingness to remain in confinement till such time as he should discover the truth of what they averred. They said that they had been sent by the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, the two gentlemen who had been taken by Dundee at Perth, and who, ever since then, had been hurried along with him through all his rapid and difficult marches. Their mission arose from a wish on the part of these gentlemen, that their Majesties' General should not engage the enemy with an army, the one half of which would be sure to betray the other. They then informed Mackay that Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, and Captains Murray, Livingstone, and Crichton, were the chief persons concerned in the plot, though, from what they had overheard in Dundee's counsels, very few of that regiment, excepting the Colonel, the Major, and Captain Balfour, were free of it.

Mackay still hesitated to believe a statement which looked so like a trick to deprive him of the services of a valuable regiment; and he esteemed it his duty to put his informants into confinement at the Laird of Grant's house of Belcastle, that their evidence might there endure a sort of probation. In the meantime, he consulted with Sir Thomas Livingstone, the Colonel of the regiment, as to what should be done with it under such singular circumstances. Sir Thomas, as the reader has already seen, was himself a friend of King James; in all probability, though not impeached by the deserters, he was also concerned in the de-

sign of delivering up the regiment to Dundee. If he was so, he must have been a man of singular firmness of nerve ; for he alone was present with the General when they were giving their evidence ; and it is to be supposed, that he could scarcely help being agitated at a recital that ran so high to implicate him in the most dreadful of all crimes incident to his profession. When Mackay asked his opinion of the evidence of the deserters, he said he did not believe that the private men were generally concerned in any plot ; but he must certainly say, that he began to have his suspicions of the officers just mentioned. Of late, and especially since the junction of the two troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, he had observed them frequently in private conference among themselves ; and the subject of their deliberations, he was almost sure, could not be such as to bear the light, because, whenever he approached them, they invariably parted in a sort of confusion, or made an awkward attempt to change the conversation. It was finally resolved by Mackay that he should take no notice for the present of the suspected plot, but only remain upon his guard against it. And he at the same time determined to continue for some time longer in his camp, as every day spent in his present position injured Dundee by preventing him from receiving accessions of horse from the Gordon territory, while it benefitted himself by allowing time for the junction of his detachments from Angus.

He was soon, however, disturbed in this tranquil resolution. John Forbes, brother to the Laird of Culloden, and Captain of a regiment which the Laird of Grant was about to levy for King Wil-

liam's service, having been established with a garrison of Grants in the old Castle of Ruthven, Dundee laid siege to it; and as the place was unprovided with stores of any kind, it was soon taken, though not without the garrison capitulating for their lives and freedom. Forbes, being brought through the Highland camp, could not help remarking the extreme vigilance and discipline of Dundee's little troop of cavalry, the horses of which stood ready saddled and bridled, and the men in marching order beside them, as if they had been commanded to be always prepared for the enemy. Before he had left Dundee's leaguer a mile behind him, he met two men on horseback, one clothed in red, the other in blue; the latter of whom charged him with the ordinary cry of "Qui vive!" On his answering with the loyal parole, "Vive le Roi Guillaume," the other informed him in plain English, that he and his comrade had been commanded out from General Mackay's camp, to inspect that of the Viscount Dundee. Forbes cautioned them as to the danger of being seized by Dundee's outposts in case of advancing nearer; but they nevertheless pursued their way. He was so much struck by the bold conduct of the men, that he could not help mentioning it to Mackay that day, as he sat with him at dinner. Mackay instantly guessed their real errand; for he knew that no intelligencers had been lately employed except the Laird of Grant's vassals, and he remembered with great distinctness that the livery and accoutrements which Forbes described as belonging to the man in blue, were precisely those of Livingstone's dragoons. Almost in that very moment, his conjecture was confirmed by information, that Dundee's army was

moving down the vale against him. He now saw that Dundee had been acting in such close concert with his treacherous dragoons, as to be actually ready to take advantage of the first hint which they should give him as to the proper moment for falling upon him : the man in blue, he concluded, was the person employed by them to communicate this hint, and he saw that it had just been given.

Nothing remained for him but to make a precipitate retreat. Instantly giving orders to get his men into marching order, he called for his faithful ally, the Laird of Grant, who had, on the present occasion, sacrificed much for his service, by contributions of men and provisions, and who had also dared to incur, for his sake, the enmity of a set of very revengeful neighbours. He was sorry, he said, to be obliged to break a rule which all military men were disposed to respect, that which dictates the protection of an ally. He hoped, however, that, though he must necessarily leave the country exposed to the rebels in the mean time, it would only be for a few days. Much, too, might be done by driving away the cattle to the hills. To protect the country as much as possible, he would leave all the native troops behind ; and, for the rest, he hoped that, as the enemy would probably be encouraged to follow him very hard, they might not find much leisure to ravage it. Grant replied, with a spirit worthy of his ancient and honourable name, that, though his interest should be altogether lost, he would not wish the General to make one step to the prejudice of their Majesties' service.

It was about nightfall when Mackay commen-

ced his march ; and, what with the difficulty of a retreat by night, the lassitude of his men and horse for want of provisions, and the dreadful apprehensions under which he lay regarding the dragoons, his was certainly a situation of no ordinary distress. He had only one hope to cheer him, that Dundee might follow upon some other track than that which he pursued. He had taken care, in the arrangement of his suspected men, to guard against the possibility of their deserting unobserved during the night. In his march, he passed Ballindalloch, the seat of a gentleman who was with Dundee ; and he finally halted, early next day, at Balveny, where, with much difficulty, he procured some provisions.

He now became afraid that Dundee might sweep across Strathspey, and get betwixt him and his supplies ; an evolution which, it seems, their relative situations and other local circumstances would have enabled him to perform, if he had been so inclined. Accordingly, without waiting till his men were properly refreshed, he gave the order for another night-march. Before his men had proceeded a mile, the advanced stragglers of Dundee's army came up to the bank of a river which they had just passed, and parlied with the rear of the regular cavalry. When Mackay was informed of this, he fell back to the rear with about fifty horse, and drew up upon a hillock, to cover the retreat of his army. Having stood there for some time without being annoyed by the enemy, he retired after his troops ; the main body of which had thus got about two miles ahead of the pursuers. He continued his retreat till four in the morning, when, having put the river Bogie between him and the enemy, and

his men being perfectly exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he again pitched his camp.

During the course of the ensuing day, he retired three miles further, and took up a position on the top of Suy Hill, which had the advantage of affording him a look out to the distance of three or four miles in all directions. Here, to his great joy, he was joined before the evening, by the two long-expected regiments, which all at once restored him from the condition of pursued to that of pursuer. He waited no longer than till nightfall to retrace his steps, with his new accessions, in search of Dundee; who, he was now told, had lingered about twelve miles behind, to destroy the house and lands of Edinglassie, which belonged to a partisan of the new government, now in arms under Mackay. The General calculated at first upon surprising his enemy by this sudden turn upon him; for, as the Highland army kept no intelligencers, except a parcel of stragglers, who moved along the tops of the hills, and trusted to their eyesight, it seemed to him probable, that, advancing as he did by night, he would escape their observation, and be permitted to approach without alarm. Unfortunately, some of his treacherous dragoons gave Dundee notice, both of the increase of his forces and of his intended attack; and thus, when he approached Edinglassie, he found nothing but a ruined mansion and a desolated country. He continued, however, to pursue the retiring enemy up along Strathspey, till he once more reached Culnakill, where, seeing the task to be vain, he encamped; five days only having elapsed since he had left the same place in precipitate retreat. Here he caused the suspected dragoon officers to be all seized and

sent away to Edinburgh, there to be at the disposal of the Convention of Estates.

Dundee soon after retired into Lochaber, where he dispersed the greater part of his army ; it being his opinion that, till the expected assistance came from Ireland, no great blow could be struck in Scotland for King James. Mackay, at the same time, returned with the greater portion of his forces to Edinburgh, designing to agitate a proposal which he had made to the government, to have a large fort built at Inverlochy, as the only means he could suggest for keeping the Highlands in awe.

During this campaign, which lasted from the beginning of April to the end of June, Dundee and his Lowland friends suffered all the hardships incidental to a residence in the Highlands at that early period ; often wanting bread, salt, and all other liquors but water, for several weeks ; and scarcely ever sleeping in a bed. Under any other commander perhaps than Dundee, such privations would have occasioned discontent and desertion. Under him they were endured at least without complaint ; for what gentleman or private soldier could think himself ill-treated, when he saw his leader suffering the very same hardships without uttering a murmur ? Dundee was exactly the sort of general to sustain the spirits of men under the distresses of a campaign like the present. He demanded no luxury or indulgence which could not be shared with his troops. If any thing good was brought to him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He had also the invaluable qualification of being able to exist with little sleep. Tradition, in Athole, records of him, that, during one night

which he spent in a gentleman's house there, he sat writing till morning, only now and then laying his clenched fists on the table, one above the other, and resting his head thereon for a few minutes, while he snatched a hurried slumber. Besides being able to sleep by mouthfuls, he had other qualifications, which fitted him in a peculiar manner for keeping alive and controlling the spirit of a militia like the Highlanders. He adapted himself to the manners and prejudices of that people, and caused them, instead of regarding him with the jealousy due to a stranger, to behold him with a mixture of affection and respect superior even to what they usually entertain towards their chiefs. He walked on foot beside the common men, now with one clan, and anon with another. He amused them with jokes. He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies. He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. He acted upon the maxim, that no general ought to fight with an irregular army, unless he be acquainted with every man he commands. He never, on the other hand, let this familiarity with his men go the length of generating contempt. The severity of his discipline was dreadful. The only punishment he inflicted was death. Like the corps of the Swiss Guard at Paris, he thought that any inferior punishment disgraced a gentleman. All his men he held to be of that rank ; and he would not put one of them to the shame of submitting to such an infliction. Death, he said, was properly the only punishment which a gentleman could submit to ; because it alone relieved him from the consciousness of crime. It is reported of him, that, ha-

ving seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time : he brought him to the front of the army, and, saying that a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner, shot him with his own pistol.²

It was altogether wonderful that he should have ever been able to keep an army on the field during this spring. When he first commenced the war, he had only fifty pounds of gun-powder.³ He had no money except what was his own, or what he could raise by his personal interest. His men, though willing, were very ill armed; and what weapons they had were of such a nature as to defy any attempt at discipline or exercise. He wanted even that fundamental advantage, the commission of the King to levy war. He was only the generalissimo he had made himself, in consequence of his reputation, which was not very great, and his confident expectation of eventually procuring the royal sanction. The Highlanders had no other reason to adhere to him, except their appreciation of his lofty character, and their perception of his abilities to command them. He had got himself erected all at once into the leader of a great party, purely by the native force of his character, acting as it did under a very peculiar exigency.

CHAPTER V.

THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKY.

Claver'se and his Highlandmen,
Came down upon the raw, man,
And, being stout, gave mony a shout;
The lads began to claw, then.
Wi' sword and targe into their hand,
Wi' which they were na alaw, man;
Wi' mony a fearfu' heavy sigh,
The lads began to claw, then.

Old Jacobite Song.

SOME little changes had taken place in the general aspect of affairs, before the conclusion of this ineffectual campaign of marches and countermarches. The Castle of Edinburgh had been surrendered by the Duke of Gordon; some Lowland regiments had been raised for the defence of the new government; others had arrived from England; circumstances all calculated to depress the spirits of the Highlanders. On the other hand, Ireland was altogether subdued by King James, except two cities; the Convention was beginning to fall into dissension; and invasions were threatened from France and Ireland at once. The Revolutionists were still as sure as ever of being eventually able to settle a Protestant succession; but the Anti-revolutionists were now, perhaps, more confident than before, of

the impossibility of carrying through a measure so adverse to natural justice, and the prejudices of the people. A curious proof of the difficulty which men must then have felt in conjecturing which party would ultimately be uppermost, occurs at the end of Sir John Dalrymple's work, in the shape of a correspondence betwixt Lord Strathnaver (eldest son of the Earl of Sutherland) and the Viscount of Dundee. The former, who had acted since the Revolution with a firm and conscientious attachment to the new government, in the first place, writes a letter to Lord Dundee, beseeching him to yield to the current of the times, and offering to make his peace for him. It is as follows :—

“ MY LORD—The concern that many equally interested in us both have for your Lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot therefore but wish, that you would follow the Duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course ; neither shall your friends, who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family ; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than

“ STRATHNAVER.”

“ *Inverness, 3rd of July 1689.*

Dundee lost no time to send back the following spirited answer :—

“ Struan, 15th July, 1689.

MY LORD—Your Lordship's, dated the 3rd, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and ammunition sent from Ireland. My Lord, I am extremely sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return I assure your Lordship, I have had no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your Lordship should be so far abused as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I doubt not, believe that Darie [Londonderry] was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, I can assure you it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you the English and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel; in testimony whereof, they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Schomberg is going to Ireland to carry the war thither. I assure you the King has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west (whom I

am sorry for) very soon. So, my Lord, having given you a true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid amongst your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge if you or I, your family or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge frankly, I am no less obliged to your Lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance at a time when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your Lordship or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your weil [welfare], as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDEE.

How are we to feel, amidst the security and tranquillity of the present happy times, in contemplating a period, not yet long past, when a nobleman of one political party endeavoured to gain over a friend who happened to belong to another, by a promise of his life and estate, and when the party so addressed sent for answer an exact converse of his generous proposal, making the same promise on the same condition! A modern politician sometimes chooses long, and resolves late, which party in the State he shall attach himself to, having no cause of distraction whatever, except perhaps some trivial matter of patronage. But what must have been the difficulty, at the time under notice, when not only was the prospect of advantage to be considered, but the very idea of the preservation of life!

It has been already mentioned, that General

Mackay returned to Edinburgh, to agitate a scheme for subduing the Highlands by means of a fort established at Inverlochy. He with difficulty got this project so far ripened, that he was appointed by the Convention to march through the Highlands, with an army of about four thousand men, in order to carry it into execution. It was part of the same scheme, that he should reduce the rebellious district of Athole in passing towards Inverlochy. For this purpose, it was judged proper that Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, should go before him, to try the effect of feudal influence upon the people, and in particular to rescue Blair Castle, if possible, from the hands of Stuart of Ballechan and others, who held it for Dundee. Murray was the son of a father who had just been plotting with Dundee and Balcarres in favour of King James ; but he had long been on bad terms with his parent, and he was son-in-law to the Duke of Hamilton, president of the Convention. He was therefore esteemed as likely to do some service for King William.

He went to Athole early in July ; and, as had been agreed upon at Edinburgh, he lost no time in calling a meeting of his father's vassals. To his great surprise, these persons, though the humblest ministers of his will on other occasions, fairly rebelled against an order to rise in favour of what they considered a usurping government. They had fifty years before formed the mass of the armies of Montrose ; the recollection of the singular victories which they won under his banner, was still fresh in their memories ; and their political feelings were now altogether of the same cavalier complexion as then. On seeing Lord Murray

refuse to receive a message which Dundee sent him, they took alarm, and with one voice demanded to know his intentions; avowing, that if he would join Dundee they would willingly go along with him, but that if he did not, they would immediately quit his service. He first cajoled and then threatened them; but the unbending Cavaliers filled their bonnets with water from a neighbouring rivulet, ¹ drank King James's health, and left him to join Dundee. ²

He had no better success in his attempt to take possession of Blair Castle, though that house was his father's property, and kept by his father's servant. On his summoning it to surrender, Ballochran told him over the walls, that he kept the house by the General's order, for the King's service. ³

The continued possession of Blair Castle was a matter of the utmost importance to Dundee, because it enabled him to communicate freely with the Lowlands, and was the chief bond by which he held the allegiance of the populous and well-affected district of Athole. Appreciating its value to the full, he no sooner learned that it ran a risk of being beset by Lord Murray, than he sent a light party of Highlanders, under Alexander MacLean, to keep it in countenance. He soon after learned, through the service of some friend in the Scottish councils (of whom, strange to say, he had many), that Mackay himself was marching to Blair, and he then saw it necessary to direct all his strength to this point. Before doing so, however, he had received his long expected supplies from Ireland, consisting of about five hundred men under Brigadier Cannan, the whole of them very ill

disciplined, and very few completely armed. They landed at the Island of Mull, and were afterwards embodied with his Highland forces at Inverlochy.

The reasons which Mackay had for marching into Athole at the precise time he did, are stated very clearly in his Memoirs ; and, as it is of some importance to an unfortunate party, to have an attentive hearing for his own exculpatory statement, I make no apology for transcribing it. General Mackay, he says, was informed by Lord Murray's expresses, that he did not think he should be able to prevent his father's vassals from joining Dundee, unless the King's forces should come to assist him. He was also told that Dundee, upon the call of Stuart of Ballechan, was making such haste to protect Blair Castle, as to leave many of his best parties behind in the countries through which he was passing. It was represented to him, that, if Dundee should anticipate him in the possession of Athole, he would there get fifteen hundred recruits, " as reputed for arms as any in the kingdom ;" if he (General Mackay) should abstain from the march, Badenoch, Mar, Menteith, and other distant provinces, would find time to pour in their accessory streams to the main tide of rebellion. The very circumstance of his scrupling any longer to come to action would be ruinous to him ; for, as it was now known that he had both a more numerous and a better-appointed army than Dundee, people would begin to think that he had a disinclination to fight, and all the undecided would declare for, and join the forces of King James.

These reasons appeared so cogent to him, that he formed the resolution of immediately proceed-

ing into the Highlands, even though there were four troops of dragoons and two of horse, which had not yet joined him, and which he expected to arrive very soon. His army, as it was, now amounted to about four thousand five hundred men, of whom a very considerable portion were cavalry.

It was on the 26th of July (1689) that this devoted host commenced its march from Perth into the Highlands. The way by which it had to proceed, was that so well known to all who have ever travelled through Scotland for pleasure, by Dunkeld and the long vale, or Blair of Athole, being the chief and almost the only very accessible path leading from the Low into the High countries. At this point they encamped for the first night, amidst the magnificent scenery of Dunkeld, where they suddenly received the distressing intelligence from Lord Murray, that Dundee's near approach to Blair Castle had compelled him to break up the partial blockade which he had hitherto been able to keep up against that fortress. He, at the same time, informed General Mackay that, though he had found it necessary to leave the Pass of Killiecranky betwixt himself and Dundee, he had placed a guard at its further extremity, to ensure a safe passage for the regular forces into the vale beyond it.

Mackay was much chagrined at this information; but he, nevertheless, persevered in his resolution to march to Blair. So instant was he in making up his mind, that that very night he sent Lieutenant-colonel Lauder, with a party of two hundred men, to support the guard left by Murray in the Pass; a guard, by the by, which Lauder found

to have either never been, or to have evaporated before he approached. He also sent back a despatch to Perth, to cause the six troops of cavalry, which were expected to arrive there immediately, to hasten after him with all possible speed. Next morning, by break of day, he had his men all roused and once more on the road.

Scarcely any scene could be more impressive than the march of this little army through the deep and long-withdrawing vale which they were now entering. Let the reader suppose himself standing on the boundary betwixt a level and a mountainous country ; a den-like recess falling back into the boundless waste of hills before him ; and an army winding its slow and devious way into that den, as if they were mass by mass and man by man precipitating themselves into a labyrinthine cave. Let him conceive them soon after got clear of the close-embracing indentations of the Pass, and entered into a vale of considerable space, through the centre of which runs a majestic mountain stream, while hills rise on both sides to an immense height. Let him form an idea of the dangers which these men were braving by entering on such a scene ; an army composed, if not of savages, at least of men unacquainted with the usages of civilized warfare, collected in the yet wilder recesses of the country to oppose them ; a soldier at the head of that army, who was known to entertain no sympathies for humanity as opposed to his own false principles ; friends, country, every refuge left behind, and no prospect now remaining but that of fighting out their own preservation and deliverance. In one aspect of the case, they appeared, commissioned as they were to re-

duce a barbarous part of the country to the interests of the civilized, somewhat like one of the small corps with which the first Spanish adventurers in America undertook the subjugation of large savage empires ; and assuredly their circumstances seemed equally fraught with danger. It must be considered, that the emotions of the men on this occasion would be more tumultuous, in so far as they were generally raw recruits, or, as the common phrase of the time termed them, " young youths " from the Low countries, who had all their lives heard of the Highlands as a land of terror, and who now could not fail to contemplate a collision with its warlike inhabitants with feelings of great alarm.

It is a peculiarity of the long vale by which Mackay was entering the Highlands, that, at Dunkeld, and also at Killiecranky, fifteen miles farther up, it becomes contracted to a very small space, through which the road and the river have scarcely room to pass. At Killiecranky, which is about four miles on this side of Blair Castle, the bold dark hills, which range all along the vale on both sides, advance so near, and shoot up with such perpendicular majesty, that the eagles call to each other from their various tops, and the shadow of the left range lies in everlasting gloom upon the face of the right. The road passes along the brink of a precipitous brae on the north-east side, the bare steep face of the hill rising above, and the deep black water of the Garry tumbling below, while the eye and the imagination are impressed by the wilderness of dusky foliage which clothes the opposite hills. The scene is altogether one which might make the boldest soldier pause be-

fore entering it, supposing him to be in the least degree uncertain of the disposition of the country towards his party, or of the motions of the enemy. Sixty years after the time under review, when the Hessian troops were taken to it, for the purpose of relieving Blair Castle, then under siege by the forces of Prince Charles Stuart, they absolutely refused to go further, alleging that it looked like the extremity of the world; and, under that impression, by a more fortunate resolution than what General Mackay adopted on the present occasion, they returned to safe quarters at Perth.

Mackay arrived at the near extremity of the Pass, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and, as his men had then marched fifteen miles, he permitted them to rest for two hours, and to take some refreshment. In the meantime, he sent an additional party of two hundred more men, under the command of the Lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Leven's regiment, to reinforce that which he had despatched the night before, with Colonel Lauder, to keep open the other end of the Pass. At mid-day, after receiving information from Lauder that the Pass was clear, he caused his troops to enter it in the following order. Balfour's, Ramsay's, and the Viscount of Kenmure's battalions of foot, went first; then, Lord Belhaven's troop of horse; next, the Earl of Leven's regiment, with a battalion under the proper command of the General. After these went the baggage-horses, about twelve hundred in number; and behind them again, came the Earl of Annandale's troop of horse, and Hastings's foot regiment. The stores of the army thus occupied a central situation, that the

natives might not have an opportunity of attacking and plundering them.

A noted and ominous instance of the boldness of the Highlanders occurred, as the army was marching through the Pass. A man of the name of Ian Ban Beg MacRaa, who marked them from the opposite hills, deliberately fired across the water, and killed a passing horseman.⁴ The place where this deed took place, is indicated by a well called "Fuaran n trupar," the Well of the Horseman.

When the Pass of Killiecranky is once traversed, the country beyond is found to open suddenly up into a plain, which is expressively called the Blair or field of Athole. Immediately beyond the Pass, this plain is not very spacious, but is confined to that description of territory, which in Scotland is called a *haugh*; that is, a stripe of level alluvial soil by the brink of a river. The road debouches upon this narrow plain; the river runs along under the hills on the left; on the right rise other hills, but not of so bold a character. Mackay no sooner arrived at a space sufficiently wide for drawing up his army, than he halted, and began to intrench himself. His baggage he left at a blacksmith's house near the termination of the Pass, so as to have the protection of his army in front.⁵

Dundee had just this day descended from the wilds of Badenoch, into the comparatively level district of Athole, bringing with him about two thousand Highlanders, and something under five hundred Irish.⁶ When he first heard that Mackay was about to march through the Pass of Killiecranky, he was pressed by his officers to dispute the passage, which, from the superiority a defender na-

turally has over an assailant in such cases, he was sure to do with success. But he saw fit to reject the advice. Reminding the Highlanders of their ancient national maxim, that it is dishonourable to attack an enemy at a disadvantage, he said he did not think so meanly of his followers as to believe they had fallen away from the generous courage of their ancestors. In private, he assigned reasons, wise and well-weighed, for not doing as they counselled. To defend the Pass, he said, was only to delay the war, and to detain themselves prisoners in places where they had been already too long in confinement. It was only in an open field that the peculiarly vehement charge of the Highlanders could be performed. Six successive battles gained by Montrose, ensured the event of next day. To allow the enemy to pass over to fair ground, inspired a generous confidence into his own men, but would fill their opponents with a suspicion of the secret cause of it. To him, at the very worst, retreat was easy : to the enemy, after they should devolve from the Pass, retreat and ruin were the same. Entangled in the Pass, the stronger would push the weaker over the precipices in their flight, and all must fall a defenceless prey to his victorious army pursuing behind. Even at the other end of the Pass, he had sent orders for his friends to watch and fall upon the few who should escape. 7

It is said that, on the night before the battle, having reflected that the Highlanders had been untried in the field since the time of Montrose, forty years before, and being desirous to put their courage to the test, he gave an alarm, as if a sudden attack had been made upon his camp. In an instant, he found every man at his post, and firm in

it. By this stratagem, he removed every shadow of diffidence from his own mind, and increased the personal confidence of his soldiers.⁸

He was at Blair Castle, when he learned that an advanced party of Mackay's troops had taken possession of the pass. He immediately sent Sir Alexander Maclean with a party of four hundred men to beat up that guard ; but, being soon after informed that the whole of Mackay's army was arrived at the Pass, he found it necessary to lead forward the rest also. Before doing so, he is said by Highland tradition to have rode up the hill of Shierglas above Blair Castle, in order to get a distant prospect of the enemy, and the position they were choosing. He also, according to the same authority, made some careful and scrupulous inquiries among the old men of the district, regarding the nature of the ground ; and he asked them what their old commanders, such as Montrose, would probably have done in such a case. He was pleased to find, in one particularly intelligent person of the name of MacBean, opinions exactly coincident with his own.

He then set forward at the head of his men, keeping the present line of road from Blair, till he came to the river Tilt, when he turned off round the back of the hill on which the castle of Lude is built, and crossed the water near its confluence with the rivulet called Ald-Chluan. His men, though by no means in fresh condition, went at double-quick time, and he was conspicuous at their head by the noble dun war-horse which he rode, and the glitter of his plate-armour.⁹

Mackay, in expectation that Dundee would come directly down the vale to meet him, had coast up

slight trenches in front of his men. It was therefore with no small surprise that he found him eventually appear on the face of the hill to the right. The approach of the Highlanders from Blair was first discovered from the top of a knoll in front of his position, by a party of two hundred fusileers and a troop of horse, which he had established there, under Lieutenant-colonel Lauder. On being informed that they were in motion, he galloped to the place, saw them himself, and immediately ordered Colonel Balfour to hasten the distribution of ammunition, and put the men under arms, while he himself should choose the field of battle. Soon after this, observing some large parcels of the enemy making advances to a steep and bosky brae immediately above his position, from which it was evident they should be able to force him over the river, he galloped back in the utmost haste to the main body, and, making every battalion form by what was called a *quart of conversion to the right*, marched them one by one up to the top of the eminence, which he fortunately gained before the enemy. The two armies were then in a very uncommon position. That of Dundee occupied the high grounds about Urrard House: Mackay's stood upon a lower platform of the same range of hills. A person standing at the mouth of the Pass, would have now seen the baggage-party close beneath him on the haugh, the main body of the Government troops half way up the irregular shelvy hills to the right, and Dundee's Highlanders on a still higher landing-place, as it were, of the same ascent. The whole must have had much the same appearance with the audience-department of a

theatre, as seen from the stage ; where a part are below the eye, another portion a little above it, and a third still higher and more remote.

When the Highland army came fully within sight of Mackay's, the latter saluted them with a shout, expressing inveterate hostility and defiance.¹⁰ Mackay, who felt, or affected to feel confident of victory, perceived the standard of the clan Cameron amidst the lines of Dundee ; and, going up to a son of the chief, who was an officer in his own regiment of Scots Fusileers, said to him, " There is your father, with his wild savages ; how would you like to be with him ? " " It signifies little," answered Cameron, " what I would like ; but I recommend it to you to be prepared ; or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." ¹¹ The confidence felt by the youth regarding the resolution of his countrymen, was not overstrained. The Highlanders were almost wild with joy, at seeing the enemy at length within their power. In consequence of the late miserable series of retreats in Strathspey, which Mackay himself allows in his Memoirs to have rendered his men a very different thing in the eyes of the enemy at the end of the campaign from what they had been in the beginning, they had come to look upon the Lowland soldiery with even more than their accustomed contempt. They either regarded them as hirelings, who would exert no real or hearty energy in the wretched cause they had adopted, or as vile mechanical *Sassenachs*, who did not possess any portion of the spirit proper to a soldier.

Mackay drew out his men, in their second po-

sition, as he had done in their first, in one line, six men deep ; leaving no reserve whatever, except the guard of the baggage. He thus greatly out-flanked the troops of Dundee, which, it will be recollected, were only about half the number. When Dundee perceived this, he was obliged to thin his line down to three men deep, so as to extend it to the same length. On the right of his line he had placed Sir John Maclean, with his regiment in two battalions. On the left was Sir Donald MacDonald's regiment, commanded by his son and Sir George Berkley, together with another battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. The main body was composed of four battalions, being the respective clans of Lochiel, Glengarry, and Clanronald, with the Irish regiment, and a troop of horse commanded by Sir William Wallace. The Irish officers were interspersed throughout all the different portions and limits of the army.¹²

The two hostile bodies lay tranquilly looking at each other, during a great portion of that long summer afternoon, only some slight skirmishing going on here and there, as the various advanced parties had occasion to dispute points of ground with each other. On Dundee's side, many advised that the battle should be delayed till the ensuing day, both as the men were fatigued with their march, and as by that time some considerable accessions of force, expected from Rannoch, would come in. But the General would listen to no such suggestions. The men, he said, were no more fatigued than their opponents must be : if he expected reinforcements, so also did they ; their expected reinforcements were of horse, the sort of strength which he had most occasion to dread. He

was afraid, moreover, that, if he delayed till the next day, Mackay would so intrench himself, that it would be impossible to get at him without great and useless loss of men.

At length, about eight o'clock, when the sun was throwing his last rays down along the slope of the hills on which the two armies stood, he prepared for the onset. In the first place, he addressed his men in the following animated speech :

“ Gentlemen, you are come hither this day to fight, and that in the best of causes ; you are to fight the battle of your king, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. Having so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it. As there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason, so there can be none betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your king, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us, by this action, redeem the credit of our nation, which is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of its countrymen. I ask you to do nothing that you shall not see me do before you. If any of us shall fall on this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying in our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience. Such of us as shall live and win the battle, will have the reward of a gracious king, and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on ; and let this be your word : King James and the Church of Scotland, which God long preserve ! ”

He had all along that day appeared conspicuous in his red coat, and steel armour ; but just be-

fore the battle, he changed the former for a sad-coloured garment, to conceal his rank from the enemy. This precaution was necessary and justifiable, because he had determined to gratify the prejudices of his men by making the charge at their head. Dundee was personally brave to the last degree, and rather perhaps loved than feared the dangers of battle. But he knew that, on the present occasion, his life was not valuable to himself alone.

The charge was made with all the impetuosity proper to a Highland onset. Stripped, for the sake of lightness, almost to their shirts, stooping as low as possible, and holding their targets before their heads, they rushed swiftly down the slope which intervened betwixt their position and that of Mackay. A few leather cannon which Mackay had placed at the extremities of his line, (each carried betwixt two horses), sent forth their thunders against them, and they were saluted with a simultaneous volley from the whole extended front of their opponents. These, however, they regarded very little. It is told of Grant of Sheuglie, a gentleman of Glenurquhart, that, having been knocked down by a ball which came against his target, he immediately rose again, with the light remark, "Och, sure the Boddachs¹³ are in earnest now!" and continued his advance with the rest, only the more determined in his course from the momentary interruption he had met with. But, indeed, the clans never looked upon the battle they were about to be engaged in, as any thing else than a mere frolic, or an attack upon the baggage.

When they got within a proper distance of the enemy, they all paused a moment, in order to give

their fire. Having done so, and thrown away their firelocks as usual, they took to their broadswords, Lochaber axes, and two-handed swords, and flew headlong upon the foe, uttering a loud shout at the same moment. Notwithstanding all their speed, Mackay's lines had time to fire three vollies at them, as they were advancing.

Mackay, who had exerted himself for some hours to arrange his men properly, at the risk of being brought down by the enemy, (for their stragglers fired repeatedly at him as he rode about), had just concluded a speech to some of the battalions nearest him, when the attack was made. He called them to remember the justice of their cause; to remember that the Protestant interest, not only in Scotland but in Britain, and all the world over, depended upon their firmness and exertions. He reminded them of the obligations under which they lay as soldiers, to do the work of their master and entertainer with good will. He pointed out to them that their own personal safety, not to speak of higher matters, depended on their standing firm in combat this day. Should they keep their ranks, he said, they would in three minutes see the naked savages arrayed against them fly back to the hills at a quicker pace than they came from them. Should they, by a criminal and unmanly faint-heartedness, give way, then should none escape the fate they desired to avoid. The enemy, unencumbered by clothes and arms, and naturally swifter of foot, would cut them unresistingly down as they ran, or huddle them for a deliberate massacre into the bottom of the vale. Whoever might have the good fortune in the meantime to escape the enemy, the river or the precipices, should be sure to fall, be-

fore getting out of the country, the common people being every where in arms, for the express purpose of way-laying runaways. In every view of the case, it was their only true interest to stand to it boldly as became men fighting for their religion and liberty, against the invaders of both these noble possessions. Let them but stand for a minute, and they would find themselves almost involuntarily or passively victorious.

This reasoning was precisely of that sort which leaves no doubt in the mind of a man who hears it in a state of tranquillity, and when not particularly interested, but which produces no effect upon the faculties of one who has a serious personal reason for rejecting it. The circumstances of Mackay's soldiers were unfortunately such as to make it of little avail. They were almost all raw young men, who had never before been upon a field of battle. They were disposed to regard the enemy with fear. They were agitated by the distressing novelty of their situation. Such fortitude as they had was rather relaxed as braced by the hints of the General regarding the difficulty of escape; while scarcely any one could be altogether convinced by it; for, although it could not be hoped that all would elude the dangers of the retreat, each man was at liberty to flatter himself with the idea that he, by making off very early, and with peculiar speed, would be among the happy number of the saved. What was perhaps worse than any of these considerations, the army was left in a great measure weaponless at the moment it received the charge; few having time, after their last fire, to screw their bayonets into the muzzles of their pieces; an awkward necessity in the military tac-

tics of that age, which was only remedied in the succeeding year, by General Mackay, who, in consequence of suffering so much from it at Killiecranky, invented the present well-known plan for fixing that weapon.

For these reasons, as might be expected, the resistance which the regular troops presented to the Highlanders was neither of long duration nor of a very determined character. The heavy masses into which the clans were collected, came with prodigious force against their thin line. When once penetrated, or even shaken in any one place, the remainder, though uninjured, could not long bear up. Every mode of defence which the poor Lowlanders could attempt, was obviated by the savage strength of their assailants. If a military rapier was presented, it was beat down by the long battle-axes and broadswords carried by the Highlanders: if a musket with a bayonet was projected against the body of the foe, it was cut in two, or received on the target. The happy mixture of nimbleness and strength which the Highlanders display, above all other soldiers, on the field of battle, was far too much for the timid and inexperienced battalions of Mackay. In a few minutes, with the exception of Colonel Hastings' and the Earl of Leven's regiments on the right wing, the whole line had given way, and descended the hill mingled with the pursuers.

In the first confusion of the battle, General Mackay had pushed boldly through the advancing torrent of foes, thinking that his doing so would cause his men to meet the Highlanders with a sort of counter-charge. What was his surprise and mortification, when, on reaching clear ground

beyond, and looking back, he could see none of his men whatever, except the wounded and dying ; all the living had gone down over the brink of the hill with the Highlanders, and were now engaged in a flying fight in the vale below, or were hurrying on for the Pass. The singular spectacle was presented, of a retreating army exposed to the swords of the enemy, while the Generalissimo, the only man who had made a vigorous attempt to fight, was left behind unharmed. To his own senses, the conduct of his men was like magic : they appeared, he says in his own Memoirs, to have vanished almost in the twinkling of an eye. While he records their pusillanimous behaviour with pain, he could not help remarking, as a matter of additional regret, that, from the little resistance he found in passing by himself through the Highland troops, he was sure that the least firmness on the part of his men would have secured them a victory.

When he had a little recovered from his surprise, and the smoke was somewhat cleared away, he perceived the small remaining portion of his right wing standing at a little distance ; and, like a good general, he immediately galloped towards it. On coming up, he found it to consist chiefly of a part of the Earl of Leven's regiment, including the Earl himself, most of his officers, and a considerable number of men from other battalions. This parcel of his army had been entirely unopposed by the enemy, whose line was not long enough to reach it ; and when all the other regiments went off, it had stood stock still, simply because it had nothing to do, and did not exactly see any thing to fear. By and by it was reinforced by a battalion of Hastings' regiment, which, strange to say, had

gone in chase of the Highlanders after they swept past it, and was now returned in good order to its original position. Mackay, having put these little bodies into order, ordered his nephew, Captain Mackay—a brave officer, who had already eight broadsword wounds on his body, yet still kept his horse—to go down to the vale below, and inform all the officers he met, that the day might yet be their own, if they would only rally their troops and come back to join him where he had now taken up his position. While the youth was absent upon this commission, he went to survey the garden of a house in the neighbourhood, which he thought might perhaps afford a good vantage-ground to the wreck of his army, in case of being surrounded by the enemy; but he soon saw reason to abandon all such thoughts, the enclosure being quite insufficient to afford him any prospect of holding out till relieved.

In a little while, Captain Mackay came back with intelligence that by far the greater part of the army was dispersed or slain, and that such of the officers as he spoke to paid not the least attention to his message. The unfortunate General, at the same time, perceived a considerable body of men forming along the edge of a wood at some distance, whom he soon discovered to be foes. It was now nearly dark, and the Highlanders, he could argue, were likely soon to learn where he was, and to attack him. Under such distressing circumstances, he could scarcely indulge any hope of escape.

Mackay, however, though not possessed of any thing like the high military genius of Dundee, was a man of sense and experience, with considerable presence of mind. He extricated himself from this

difficulty with a great deal of address. It is to be remarked that he stood with his little corps a good way up the hills. He was at that part of his position which was the most remote from the vale and the river. Betwixt him and the vale stood the party of Highlanders which he had just observed to gather by the edge of the wood. All the ground in that direction, and especially towards the Pass, was covered with parties of the victors. He was not yet aware that the eagle-eye of Dundee, which used to see every thing, was closed in mortal agony. Through all these difficulties, real and imaginary, he piloted himself and his troops with wonderful coolness and dexterity. First, he entreated the men; that, above all things, they would resolve to betray no symptom of panic or a disposition to fly. They must move slowly and stealthily, ready on the first attack, from whatever number of foes, to give a well-aimed fire, and stand firm afterwards. He pointed out to them that, if they managed well, the increasing darkness would prevent the enemy from ascertaining their numbers, and perhaps, even, from discovering who they were. Should they, on the contrary, move too fast, they would infallibly get into disorder and alarm, and the enemy would, as a matter of course, run after and destroy them. He then led them slowly down the hill, avoiding as much as possible all places where he thought the enemy could be in great strength; and, his men fortunately seconding his wishes by the most resolute behaviour, he succeeded at length in taking them safe over the river. When at that point, he was out of the scope of pursuit; but there was still fear, that if he should linger any time, the enemy might learn the fact of his being there, and give

him some annoyance. He therefore had now to resolve upon assuming some path by which he might hope to escape from the country before the next morning. His officers, in general, counselled him to take the usual route through the Pass of Killiecranky; but he argued well, that that path must now be completely beset by the hostile natives, and therefore to the last degree dangerous. He bethought himself of a route, which must appear to any person acquainted with the country, and who remembers its condition on that awful night of popular excitement, as having been infinitely preferable. Striking off to the west, along the bank of the Garry, in a direction quite contrary to that of the flight, he penetrated Athole to the distance of six or seven miles. Here, to his great joy, he encountered a band of about a hundred and fifty fugitives, whom Colonel Ramsay had brought off, and who, like himself, had despaired of getting through the Pass. Then, striking off by the brink of a little stream, tributary to the Garry, he endeavoured to find a road athwart the hills towards the neighbouring vale of the Tay. By the information of a countryman whom he found at a little village, and the help of his *carte du pays*, he succeeded in discovering a path such as he required. It was one of the most dreadful description, full of quagmires and precipices; but, notwithstanding that, and notwithstanding their long march in the morning, the men struggled through with wonderful perseverance. Before morning, he reached Weems Castle, the seat of his friend the chief of the clan Menzies, where he gladly halted to sleep and refresh himself, having, since his departure on the preceding morning from

Dunkeld, marched a distance of at least forty miles, a great part of it over the worst possible ground.

During a later part of that day, as he pursued his retreat towards Stirling, he found the country to be in an universal uproar in consequence of the news of Dundee's victory. Every man was now arming for King James, as if confident of the eventual success of his party. About a hundred of the retreating soldiers having fled to the hills, in consequence of a false alarm which occurred on the march; such was the boldness of the people, and their aversion to the cause of the Revolution, that the whole of the fugitives to a man were killed, stripped, or taken prisoners.¹⁴ Mackay that night reached Drummond Castle, where, in consequence of the Popery and Jacobitism of its proprietor, he had for some time past kept a garrison. Next day he reached Stirling Castle, bringing with him, out of the four thousand men he took away from the place a week before, only about two hundred.

CHAPTER VI.

ANECDOTES OF THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKY.

If ye had been where I had been,
Ye wadna been ~~sae~~ brankie, O ;
I met the Devil and Dundee,
On the braes o' Killiecrankie, O.
Old Song.

SUCH was the battle of Killiecranky, so far as the troops of King William were concerned. It is now necessary to notice some circumstances relative more particularly to the other side.

The chief of these circumstances was the wound of Lord Dundee ; a matter which was destined to prove fatal to the whole of this important enterprise. Dundee had charged at the head of the few horse he had, and with such effect that the English horse rode off without firing a single shot. He then commanded his troopers to follow him, and endeavour to seize Mackay's cannon. Nairne, the Colonel of a horse regiment, who had just that morning produced his commission, and who was looked upon by his brother-officers as having more favour than merit, rode so slowly after him, to execute this project, that, when Dundee came to the

point of attack, he found himself quite alone. At that moment, the Earl of Dunfermline, a zealous cavalier, but who had been disappointed in the promotion of Nairne, rode out of the ranks, and, followed by only sixteen other gentlemen, fulfilled the wish of their commander, by taking possession of the artillery, while the remainder of the corps was still at a considerable distance. The General, then seeing that the right wing of the enemy's foot was still standing, while a corresponding portion of his own army was coming somewhat slowly forward to engage them, rode back to bring up that parcel of his troops ; when, unfortunately, a musket-bullet penetrated his right side, immediately below his mail-coat, and he fell mortally wounded from his horse. He was carried to a house in the neighbourhood, where, amidst the bustle consequent upon his victory, and the painful sensations arising from his own personal condition, he commanded his mind sufficiently to write a dignified account of the battle to his royal master.¹ Next morning, when in the last agonies, a friend called to inquire for him, telling him, in the first place, that the victory had been complete and all would be well if he were well. " Then I am well," said the dying soldier, and immediately expired.²

Thus perished, in the prime of life and the hour of victory, John Graham, Viscount of Dundee ; a man whose fate it has been to be too much railed at by one party, and too much praised by another, but to whom a modern pen may only do justice, when it declares him to have been a great soldier, and a man of the first order of character and intellect. No two persons could well be more different,

in every respect, than Dundee in the Highlands and Dundee in the Lowlands of Scotland. As, in Siberia, the traveller observes heat appreciated as the most excellent of things, while, in Guinea, it is looked upon as the grand enemy of human comfort, so is Dundee in the Highlands held as the greatest of all modern heroes, and in the Lowlands as the most barbarous of all brutes. It may seem strange, that the *Bloody Claverse* of Ayrshire, should have become the Great Dundee of Athole. But the thing is by no means paradoxical. Dundee did not act upon feelings, or upon the ordinary motives and emotions of men. He acted upon a grand abstract principle, which he had established, like an idol, in the innermost shrine of his mind, and to which he was disposed to sacrifice all the natural sympathies. People are apt to think, that, because he persecuted a pious set of people, whose only error was one of opinion, he must have been himself an impious and profligate man. Quite the reverse. He was inspired with as high a degree of religious fervour in his bloody deeds, as ever possessed the mind of the wildest enthusiast that sat for years amidst the wilds of Tweeddale. He had laid down to himself, that the Episcopalian mode of worship was the only one by which the Deity could properly be honoured. It was his wish, above all things, that the rude and licentious formula of the Presbyterians, should be changed for the decent ritual of the Episcopalians, so that, to use his own words, God might be honoured, in his own house, with some show of ceremony, and not treated like an ordinary acquaintance on the streets. Nor was he an indiscriminating advocate for a ceremonious form of service. He was as adverse to

the Papists on the one hand as to the Presbyterians on the other ; insomuch that, when James was tampering with his statesmen and officers to make them become Catholics, he could make nothing of Dundee. It was his frequent declaration, that the more he found his religion opposed, the more he loved it ; a complete proof of his being heated by precisely the same unhappy enthusiasm with those whom he persecuted. Thus, it will be seen, he never was the base and ignoble agent of a tyrant, which he is generally supposed to have been. He was the enthusiast who acts exclusively for the gratification of his own lofty will, and for the interest of an object which he has convinced himself is the only one that, in its accomplishment, can render himself or his countrymen entirely happy. Every sacrifice he made, every wound he inflicted, every time he rendered a mother childless, or a family fatherless, every time he caused the cry of blood to arise from the wide-spread moor, or from the cottage green, he would only think that he had proceeded a stage nearer to the period of ultimate and universal happiness. No " cold faint-hearted doubtings " could ever tease Dundee. His mind was made up, his idol established. Like a man who garners up a treasure, and resolves, while he puts it under lock and key, to resign the further pursuit of wealth, he had fairly shut the door against the intrusion of all new ideas. By a system exactly the reverse of that which governed the Temple of Peace at Rome, he had determined that the temple of his mind should be accessible to no other thoughts till the grand object of his life was achieved, by the restoration of peace and pure religion.³

It is almost vain to argue about the character of a man like Dundee. Such enthusiasts are no more liable to the ordinary rules of judgment than madmen are amenable to the common law. All that can be said of him is simply that, being a man of great native force of mind, and living at a period when his country was distracted by insane religious theories, he entered heart and soul into the views of a certain party, the interests of which he promoted very highly, to the great injury of his reputation among those against whom he acted. What, in the eyes of an unprejudiced modern, is the difference between him and his enemies? Both acted alike in the spirit of the times; both did what seemed good in their own eyes; both sought the interests of a party; both were governed by unnatural principles; both were enemies to the general interests of human nature. It was a period of insanity and struggle; and both had lost, in the heat of contention, all regard to the practical usefulness of their various objects. The words may represent other ideas in the present day; but I am afraid there was little difference in the time of Charles II., between the men who preached a compound of blasphemy and treason at field conventicles, and those who gave themselves up to unlimited rapine and cruelty, in endeavouring to repress them. It was all one grand national sin.

As to the minor departments of Dundee's character, it is almost vain to expatiate upon them, after what has just been written regarding his actions. He was a man of indefatigable industry and perseverance. No toil nor obstacle could conquer the activity of his mind. He possessed a power of forming deep and long-casting projects,

which he could retain and cherish in the recesses of his mind, like monsters which lurk in the caverns of the sea, till the proper moment arrived for developing them. But by far the most remarkable minor feature of his character was his inflexible resolution. If he once said that he would do any thing, he was as sure to do it as the thunder is sure to follow the lightning. A remarkable testimony to this part of his character is commemorated by his subaltern Crichton. That officer, being seized among the rest of the conspirators, as recorded in a preceding chapter, was sent to Edinburgh, where it was proposed by some members of the government, that he should be hanged as an example to the rest. Dundee heard of the scheme, and immediately sent a message to the Convention of Estates, that, if they should hurt a hair of Crichton's head, he would send them their friends, the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, (whom he had taken prisoners at Perth), chopped into pieces, and packed up in hampers. The Duke of Hamilton, who stood in the relation of brother-in-law to one of these individuals, lost no time in interfering to prevent Crichton's fate, avowing himself so well aware of Dundee's inflexible character, that he was sure he would do as he threatened in case of his officer being injured.

I am now to present to the reader a few anecdotes of the battle of Killiecranky, which have been preserved by tradition in Athole, from that time down to the present; when they have been at length collected into a written form, for the service of this work, by a peculiarly intelligent native of the district.⁴

The clan of the MacDonnells of Glengarry,

which stood in the centre of Dundee's line, and was commanded by its chieftain Alister Dhu, a celebrated warrior, fought on that day with courage above its fellows. Before the fight commenced, a Highland officer in Mackay's army, with that respect for the clan MacDonald which is observably so general among the northern tribes, counselled his general to place a double file of men at that part of the line which corresponded with the position of the Glengarry battalion; which Mackay accordingly did. Even that, however, was insufficient to withstand the fury of the MacDonnells.⁵

The chieftain himself had had the good sense, while at Blair Castle, to assume an old tattered coat, which prevented him from being discovered and aimed at by the enemy. He bore a prodigious two-handed sword, with which, at every step he took, he killed two men, one on each side. A soldier in the sixth or rearmost file of Mackay's line observed this terrible warrior, while there were yet three men betwixt them. He had only time to throw himself upon his guard, when Alister, having hewed down the three intervening persons with two strokes of his weapon, came up to him, and seemed ready to serve him in the same way. The poor soldier attempted to employ his bayonet against the advancing chieftain; but one sweeping stroke of the dreaded sword sheared his musket in two, and left him with only the butt in his hand. That useless relic he threw in desperation at his enemy; and then making off as hard as his feet could carry him, he plunged into the river, and permitted himself to be carried down by the stream. Alister Dhu followed, and, when he saw the man

going down the water, cried to a friend on the opposite bank, " Catch that fellow for me ; he owes me a day in harvest. " The person so called upon did not observe the soldier who was going down the stream ; but, seeing another rise out of the water and ascend the bank, made up to him, and with one stroke cleaved him down to the breast. He then called out to Glengarry, " Will that please you ? " And Glengarry, being equally ignorant of the identity of the man, replied, " Yes, it will do very well at present ; " after which he coolly returned to join his clan. This fact was reported by the real fugitive ; who, having glided under a bush overhanging the water, saw himself killed by proxy, and heard the consequent badinage of the Highlanders, with feelings of no ordinary character.

The MacDonnells are said, both by tradition and history, to have found more difficulty in routing the troops opposed to them, and to have lost more men in the rencounter, than any other clan. Sixteen gentlemen of their name are said to have that day fallen ; an enormous disproportion, when it is recollected that their party was the victorious one, and consequently the least sufferer. ⁶ Among those who fell was Donald Gorm, that is, Blue-eyed Donald ; the son of the chief, and a most hopeful and beloved youth. He had killed no fewer than eighteen of the enemy with his own hand, and all within such a space, according to tradition, *as it would have required a lippy of lintseed to sow*. There was one other MacDonald, who killed eighteen of the regular troops ; and another person still, one Gilbert Stewart of Fancastle, who slew twenty. Stewart's feat was not so extraordinary as the rest. He was hurrying a-

long towards the field of battle, as fast as a severe lameness would permit, and was just about to descend into the river, to cross it, at the ford of Dalmuch, when the fugitive troops came down the opposite bank, and eagerly crowded through the water. Gilbert had nothing to do but to pitch himself on the bank, above one of the chief landing places, and cut down every man who successively rose out of the stream.

The chief man who fell on Mackay's side was Colonel Balfour, the unflinching Whig officer who has been already so often mentioned in this work. Balfour was engaged at once by two men, one of whom was Alexander Ban Stewart, brother of the Laird of Ballechan. But, as he had fortunately got his back against a tree, they fought with him for a long time in vain. At length the Reverend Mr Robert Stewart, a young clergyman, who had come out to fight with his fellow-countrymen, and who was son to Alexander Stewart, came up to the place; and, being shocked to see such an unfair combat, especially as his father was engaged in it, he cried out, "Shame! shame! The like was never heard of before! Give the brave man his life." He at the same time addressed some friendly words to Colonel Balfour, who, however, replied by an expression of contempt and defiance. The exact words of that reply are not fit to be repeated; but their effect was instantaneous and powerful upon the feelings of the young Highlander. "Earth to my body," he only stopped to exclaim, "and peace to my spirit, and one fair stroke at you!" After which, substituting himself in place of the two former combatants, and flourishing his broadsword over his head several

times, he brought down such a heavy blow upon the shoulder of the unfortunate officer, that he cut a complete seam athwart his body, from the collar to the thigh, and laid him at once lifeless upon the ground.

The renowned hero who performed this deed, afterwards joined with great vigour in the running fight which took place on the way to the Pass. He is described by Highland tradition as having cut from right to left, and from left to right, among the ranks of the enemy, just as if he had been mowing down thistles. In consequence of his great exertions, his hand swelled in the basket-hilt of his sword, and could only be released by having the network of that receptacle cut away from around it. He experienced great compunction afterwards for having spilled so much innocent blood; and, being a Catholic, thought proper to fast and pray three days, by way of expiating his supposed guilt.

The noise of the battle was so terrible around Riarory or Urrard House, that a boy, the son of the proprietor, died of fright. A maid and a manservant were sent away with some of the smaller children, to seek a place of safety, where they might be deposited. When they had got to some distance from the battle-field, the man expressed a wish to return, that he might share in the work of death; and the girl, he said, might now make her way alone, there being no appearance of an enemy near them. "How can you go?" said the girl, crying bitterly; "you have no weapons to fight with." "No matter for that," answered the Highlander; "if I can but throw a stone at some rascal, it may be the means of saving one of

my friends, and fear not but I will soon get some better thing in my hand if I live."

He then left the girl, who proceeded alone for some space, till, as she was crossing a field of furze, three dragoons appeared in sight, and rode furiously up to her. She screamed with terror, but at that moment a protector appeared most unexpectedly, in the shape of a wild Highland youth, who, wearing neither covering for his head nor clothing for his limbs, and bearing only a good broadsword, sprung to her side from a by-path through which he had been himself proceeding towards the field of battle. Calling to the girl to be silent, "as God and he should be her defenders," this young man fearlessly interposed his person betwixt her and the dragoons, who, on account of the narrowness and difficulty of the path through the bushes, were advancing in a line, at a considerable distance from each other. A combat in the style of the Horatii and Curiatii then took place. The Highlander cut down the first with one stroke of his broadsword. The second he met in deadly and better matched strife, but him he also succeeded in bringing down, and that before the third had time to come up. After that the third scoured off. The girl, amazed at the prowess of the youth, and at her unexpected deliverance, began to shower blessings upon him; but he scarcely waited a moment to listen to her. He pursued his way to the battle-ground, with the same speed as before, apparently thinking that he had done nothing extraordinary. He probably fell in the action, as she never again saw or heard any thing of him afterwards.

Such anecdotes serve to illustrate a remark made

by Sir John Dalrymple, that there was this difference between the troops of General Mackay and those of the Viscount of Dundee: while the former served for pay, the latter were incited by the love of war. They also show what a strong feeling of the justice of their cause, and of the propriety of supporting it, animated these untutored tribes.

After the dispersion of Mackay's army, when some were making the best of their way through the Pass, and others, like the General himself, flying in the contrary direction, two men were observed by an Irish soldier to run up the hill on the opposite side of the river, apparently calculating for escape on the improbability of any one supposing that they would have adopted such a line of retreat. The Irishman, whom tradition remembers to have been clothed in green, followed them with all his might, and soon got very near them. On their observing, however, that he was unaccompanied, they took heart of grace, and turned round to defend themselves. It then became his turn to be afraid. He was just hesitating whether to go forward and try his luck against them in combat, or to attempt an escape by flight, when he observed a herd-boy looking over a bank behind his opponents. "Oh, little lad," he had only breath to exclaim in Irish Gaelic, "were you but to throw one stone!" The boy obeyed the request, and the stone, though it hit neither of the soldiers, had all the effect that could have been desired. It caused them to part company and fly in opposite directions, under the impression that their antagonist was supported by some ally at no

great distance. The Irishman pursued one, whom he soon overtook and slew ; but in the meantime, the other, having discovered the boy who threw the stone, had begun to chase him with all his speed, to revenge that hostile act. A strange scene then took place. The boy flew along the hill side, with bare head and limbs, and with all his tartans streaming behind him ; the Lowland soldier came close behind,—so close, that the boy used afterwards to say, with the fancy of a Highland poet, he felt his back warm with his breath ; after him again came the Irishman in green, as intent to overtake and destroy his immediate predecessor, as that predecessor was to catch and kill the little neat-herd. Fortunately, the Irishman was the first to accomplish his object. Just as the soldier was about to seize his prey, he fetched a stroke at him with his sword, that felled him lifeless to the earth.

The boy, whose life was thus saved, lived to a great age, and often, when an old man, related his strange adventure *on the day of Rivvory*, to a person who is still alive, and who communicates this information.

The stories of mad heroism and hair-breadth escapes which the people of Athole tell regarding this singular fight, are almost innumerable. A Highlander, on the left of Dundee's line, after killing a great number on the field, followed one particular soldier who took to flight, and whom he discerned to be also a Highlander. The fugitive made clear way down to the river side, which he reached at a particular spot where there is a precipitous rock on both sides, with a chasm between of at least eighteen feet. Just as he jumped from

the hither bank, the pursuer reached a faint stroke at him, exclaiming at the same time, with an execration, " Could you not have as well let me kill you as the river drown you ? " for he never supposed that his fate would be any thing else than to perish in the turbid waters of the Garry. To his great amazement, however, and no less to his mortification, the terrified Highlander jumped right across the chasm and alighted safe on the other side ; an astonishing feat, when it is considered that the weapon of his pursuer inflicted a wound of several inches long upon his back, at the very moment he made the leap. Immediately after alighting, he turned about and cried with a sneer, " Feàch n dèan us 'sin : Try if you can do so too ; " to which the other only replied, that it was a pity he did not assume his bold look a little sooner. He survived this adventure many years, being employed upon the formation of the Highland roads by General Wade so lately as the reign of George the Second. Till the very last, he used to relate the story here commemorated, which he always illustrated by showing the scar of his wound.

The waters of the Garry were, it seems, a good deal swelled on the day of Rinnrory, as the Highlanders term it, which was the means of drowning a great number of the routed army. One particular place, where the channel is more confined, and the stream consequently more impetuous than usual, is pointed out as having been peculiarly fatal. After a great number had been impelled into the stream at this place, two red-coats made a desperate stand against a single Highlander, who endeavoured to drive them in ; and, as they had no other chance of escape than by killing him, they

fought so well as to put him to some distress. At the very moment when he seemed about to turn from them, an Irishman came up and cried in Irish Gaelic, "My hearty brother, would you be helped?" He answered, that he never was more in need of help in his life. "Ga mid cruoi talàn dai," cried the light-hearted Milesian, "Let us apply the metal of the field to them." At the same time, he began to pelt the two poor red-coats with stones, which soon obliged them to come in the mercy of the Garry, as so many of their friends had done before them.

There is a place in the neighbourhood of Pit-clochrie, below the Pass, where the river throws out a great deal of rack and rubbish upon one of the banks. Here a great number of the drowned soldiers being deposited during the night and day which succeeded the battle, an old Highlandwoman who lived hard by, and who was a zealous anti-revolutionist, devoted herself to the singular employment of pushing them back with a long pole into the water, which she always did with the exclamation, "Shios, shios shi; shios shi gur cardn: Down, down with you; down to your friends." Somebody of more refined feelings, happening to come up, asked her how she had the courage to do such a thing.

"Courage," said she in her native dialect, which is far more expressive than my English translation, "that was a word to be used yesterday; they were fierce enough then, when on their way *up* the water: now that they are coming *down*, there is a wonderful change upon their manners. A child need not now be afraid of them. They are perfectly well-behaved now. Scoundrels that they

are," she continued, as she at the same time continued her work ; " not one of them shall get leave to stink here." It will be observed, that the horrible is here greatly enhanced by the pun upon the ordinary Scottish phrase, *up the water*, as referring to the valley, or tract of country through which the river runs.

CHAPTER VII.

SKIRMISHES OF DUNKELD AND CROMDALE.

From murders too, as soldiers true,
You are advanced well, boys ;
You fought like devils, your only rivals,
When you were at Dunkeld, boys.

Pasquil on the Cameronians.

WHEN the issue of the battle of Killiecranky was first known at Edinburgh, the Duke of Hamilton, and all others who had taken a strong hand in effecting the revolutionary settlement, were thrown into a consternation which defies all description. Under the impression that Dundee would immediately come down upon them, some proposed that they should retire to the remote parts of the south of Scotland ; others advocated an instant departure out of the kingdom ; and many actually did at least leave the seat of government. It was agitated whether the Cavalier prisoners should be liberated or more strictly confined ; and the latter measure was only determined on after some hesitation. These unfortunate individuals, among whom, it will be recollected, was the learned and elegant Balcarres, were now sequestered more strictly than ever from all intercourse with their friends. It is true, as the nobleman just mention-

ed has informed us in his Memoirs, they were now more visited than they had ever been before by their enemies. These, however negligent of them formerly, now flocked in crowds to their dungeons, making the most abject excuses for their past delinquencies to King James, and protesting that they had all along wished well to his Majesty's interest, but had only hitherto found no convenient opportunity of declaring themselves.

All this terror was needless. A victory had been won to James and the Highlanders; but Dundee had fallen. That simple circumstance neutralized, and more than neutralized, all the advantages which could have been derived from the victory. Upon the vivid military genius of this man had hung all the hopes of the one party, and all the fears of the other. "Dundee has annihilated his enemies," every body cried; "why is he not here?" It seems to have been the general idea, that his presence in the Lowlands, a triumphant and unassailable conqueror, should have just as naturally followed his victory, as effect in any case follows cause: he should have been there before the very news of the action. King William and King James, from their intimate knowledge of his character, were able to justify, each in his several way, this extravagant popular feeling. When the former heard of the battle, he said, "Then I am sure Dundee has fallen; for, otherwise, I should have heard at the same time of his being in possession of Edinburgh." King James, in his Memoirs, written by his own hand, tells us that "it gave him a fresh occasion of adoring Providence, and contemplating the instability of human affairs, when one single shot from a

routed and flying enemy, decided, in all appearance, the fate of more than one kingdom."

At the same time, while so much respect, spontaneous and otherwise, was paid to the genius of Dundee, the Revolutionary party had no cause to complain of the conduct of their own general. To do Mackay justice, he had performed all that a good leader could have performed under the circumstances, and with such troops. When all his efforts were found unavailing in battle, he had done what was next to victory—performed a masterly retreat, with the wreck of his forces. His conduct, however, after reaching Stirling, was characterized by an energy and boldness very different from what might have been expected in a beaten general. On arriving there, he learned that the Convention had given orders to the various bodies of troops stationed in the north of Scotland to draw towards the capital; and it was intimated to himself, that if he could only defend the pass of Stirling, so as to prevent the Highlanders from coming south, though at the expense of surrendering all the north to them, he would be held as doing sufficient duty. This did not satisfy Mackay. He knew that the north of Scotland could raise an army far superior in bravery and discipline to the south; he also considered that, if they were permitted to take possession of such towns as Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, they could assume a face of government, and fairly divide the kingdom with his master and mistress. He thought it far better to hazard a good deal for the sake of restraining the enemy to the hills. Accordingly, resolving to march back forthwith to Perth, for the purpose of facing them in their expected descent,

he exerted himself, during the two days following his return to Stirling, to collect all the bodies of troops which lay within reach. These bodies were not inconsiderable in number. Eight troops of newly levied horse, and four of dragoons, which happened to lie near Stirling, made up, with Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, five hundred men. Besides these, his own regiment of horse and Hayford's dragoons, which lay at Edinburgh, numbered in all seventeen troops. He tells us in his *Memoirs* that he could have easily had a large army of foot, if he would have accepted of the services of the West-country Whigs, the whole of whom rose with one consent to assist him, whenever they heard of the issue of the battle of Killiecranky. *Non tali auxilio*, he says, was the rule of his conduct in rejecting their proffered services. He knew that, however zealous they had been, and were, in endeavouring to effect the Revolution, it was not from any comprehensive views of patriotism, but only for the purpose of thereby obliging King William to gratify them in their religious predilections. Their pretensions, he says, already appeared so exorbitant, that he feared assistance from them, almost as much as opposition from the enemy. King William had not come to Britain, nor had he himself come to Scotland, merely for the purpose of settling a frivolous local dispute about ecclesiastical polity, but to promote the great cause of the Protestant religion throughout Europe, and the interests of mankind at large.

With such alacrity did this excellent soldier prosecute his design of marching back against the enemy, that, on Wednesday afternoon at two o'clock, less than two days after his return from

Killiecranky, he was on the high road to Perth with a new army of nearly two thousand men. Before that evening he reached a village about half way betwixt Stirling and Perth, where he rested for a part of the night. Next day, marching towards Perth, he experienced great inconvenience from the impossibility of procuring any intelligence of the enemy, all the houses by the way being deserted by their inhabitants, who were gone in arms to join the Highlanders. As he was advancing towards the river Earn, his scouts, who went only a musket-shot before the army, to prevent their being cut off, met two gentlemen on horseback, who assailed them with a loud *qui vive*, and made a hostile movement towards them; on which they fired, and shot both dead. This accident caused the General to suspect that a large body of the enemy was not far off, and he accordingly drew off from the road, into the heathy ground west from Perth, called Tippermoor, where he was not so liable to surprise.

Here, as he was descending upon Perth, he was pleased to discover a party of the enemy, about three hundred in number, marching out of the town, and moving up the south bank of the river towards himself. This was a party which Cannan, Dundee's successor in command, had sent down the country to reconnoitre, and which, having heedlessly ventured to Perth, were now intercepted on their way back, by an enemy whose face they had never expected to see again, and whose motions, of course, they had taken no pains to watch. Mackay no sooner saw them than he detached a strong body of horse, with orders to attack them on all sides. The poor Highlanders, who were

all Athole men, (under the Laird of Struan,) regarding the approach of the troopers with their accustomed fear for that sort of soldiery, turned at once, and attempted to cross the Tay. The dragoons, however, were upon them pell-mell before they could effect their wish ; and a dreadful scene of carnage took place in the water. The Highlanders being, as Mackay says, so obstinate or so stupified as never to ask for quarter, a hundred were killed, with the loss of only one man on the side of the assailants. Others were immediately after surprised drunk or asleep within the town. An affair, reflecting so much discredit on Dundee's successor, and auguring so well of Mackay's renewed operations, was generally considered in the country as likely to check the progress of the war not a little. Accordingly, from this moment, the friends of the reformed government were inspired with fresh hopes.²

Cannan was soon to give ample proofs of his inability to fill the difficult situation just vacated by Dundee. Having formed a feeble and absurd resolution of marching north to Inverness instead of descending upon the southern counties, he began to move his forces along the road by Blairgowrie, under the brow of the Grampians, where he was always sure to have provision on the one hand, and a safe place of retreat on the other. Mackay moved along side by side with him, keeping at a little distance, but never venturing to attack him, on account of his sure retreat. From Perth, the two armies moved to Cupar-Angus ; from Cupar-Angus to Forfar ; from Forfar to Clova ; and from Clova to Aberdeen. Cannan had never less than four thousand men under him,

while Mackay had only about fifteen hundred dragoons ; yet he never thought it prudent to hazard an action. From Aberdeenshire, they marched into Banff and Moray, where they lay threatening each other for some time ; Mackay never permitting his men to enjoy nocturnal repose, but keeping them constantly awake in the open field all night.

At length, when both parties were perhaps alike tired of this inconclusive sort of campaigning, Cannan received a piece of intelligence from his Athole friends, which caused him suddenly to break it off. The Privy Council, resolving to take the opportunity afforded by Cannan's absence, to reduce and garrison the Castles of Blair and Finlarig—the latter at the head of Loch Tay—had ordered three battalions of Dutch, who were not engaged at Killiecranky, to rendezvous at Perth, under Colonel Ramsay, while the Cameronian regiment, as it was called, should advance to Dunkeld, by way of preparing the way for their march. This Cameronian regiment was a body formed of the Westland men who flocked to protect the Convention in spring ; a body of lofty enthusiasts, entertaining a great zeal in behalf of the Revolution, and beholding the Highlanders with peculiar rancour, not merely on account of their opposite politics and religion, but also on account of the severities which the latter had practised upon them, when employed about ten years before as a military police over their turbulent district. None of the ordinary modes of recruiting had been employed in the association of this singular regiment. They were enlisted on the holm near Douglas Castle in Clydesdale, at the sound of the “pulpit drum ecclesiastic ;” three ministers successively holding forth to

them regarding the propriety of their assuming arms, before they could be persuaded to do so. They ultimately marched to active service in the North, rather with a view to extirpate Episcopacy and Erastianism, and to revenge their own quarrels against the Highlanders, than to serve King William and the cause of civil liberty. "Their oppression," says Mackay, "against all who were not of their own sentiment, made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties." But it was soon to appear that their spirit, however compounded, was to make them perform one of the most unexceptionably brilliant military exploits which occurred throughout the whole of this war.

It may easily be conceived by any one who considers the condition in which Perthshire then was, and who at the same time calls to mind the peculiarities and bearings of the *locale*, that no situation could be more dangerous, for a body of eight hundred men, than the little open village of Dunkeld. Removed fifteen miles from any other post, and all that distance within the limit of an enemy's country, the regiment must have been considered as in some measure devoted to destruction. On fully revolving the matter, one is almost tempted to think that the government, finding the demands of the sect represented by the regiment likely to become troublesome, had taken this method to get quit of them and their claims at once.

Whenever Cannan learned the situation of the regiment, he fell back from before Mackay's face, and passing obliquely along the Grampians, directed his march towards Dunkeld. Two or three days before he arrived there (Sunday, August 18th),

some considerable detachments of the country people appeared on the romantic wooded heights which surround the village, and sent a messenger to the commanding officer with a letter containing these words : " We, the gentlemen assembled, being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war ; and do certify to you, that, if you burn any one house, we will destroy you." The Lieutenant-colonel, who was the highest officer present, returned for answer : " We are faithful subjects to King William and Queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies ; and if you, who send these threats, shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve." He took care, before dismissing the messenger, to proclaim at the market-cross of the town, and within the man's hearing, the indemnity which was offered by their Majesties to all persons in arms.

Colonel Ramsay, at the first alarm of the approach of the Highlanders to Dunkeld, sent three troops of dragoons to the assistance of the Cameronians ; and these arrived on the morning after this interchange of messages. During the course of that day, the united forces marched out, and dispersed several parties of the enemy, after which they returned to the town. Next day, during which they made some other little excursions, a message arrived from Colonel Ramsay, ordering the dragoons back to Perth ; it being the opinion of that officer, that they could be of little assistance, and that, at the very worst, the Cameronians had only to retreat to Perth, in order to secure their safety. Lord Cardross, who commanded the three troops, immediately led them off, notwithstanding all the re-

monstrances of Lieutenant-colonel Cleland, who in vain represented the extreme necessity of the case, and urged, that an order evidently sent for no important reason might be disobeyed upon so strong a plea of expediency.

Thus left to themselves, in a wild unusual situation, and surrounded on all hands by enemies thirsting for their blood, the Cameronians could not help grumbling; and some even advocated the propriety of their following the prudent example of the dragoons. Colonel Cleland, however, was able, by his great eloquence and energy of character, in some measure to repress their discontents. He told them that, if they went away, he was resolved to remain, even by himself, to maintain the honour of the regiment and of "the good cause;" an appeal to their enthusiasm which it was impossible to resist.

Next morning, Wednesday, August 21st, they found, to their infinite consternation, the whole force of the Highland army, to the amount of four thousand men, under Colonel Cannan, hanging over them from the tops of the surrounding hills. Their situation was formerly dangerous: it was now desperate. Retreat was absolutely impossible; and surrender was esteemed to be much the same as a *felo-de-se*. The only chance they had of life was to defend themselves within the enclosures of Dunkeld House, as long as they could, in the hope of being relieved. Having made this resolution, for which they were partly prepared before hand, by such barricades and defences as could be had, they stood firm in their post, and quietly awaited the attack of the Highlanders. Before seven in the morning, Cannan

brought down his artillery to the face of a little hill close upon the town; and a hundred well-mounted Cavaliers, all in plate-armour, (under the command of Sir Alexander MacLean), marched straight to enter the streets, accompanied by a large body of clansmen on foot. Two troops of horse at the same time swept round the town, and posted themselves on the way betwixt the position of the Cameronians, and the ford over the river Tay, by which they could escape to Perth.

The attack was managed with all the accustomed fury of the Highlanders. Stooping low, and covering their heads with their targets, they rushed upon every little outpost in the neighbourhood, and soon compelled all to retreat to the enclosures immediately round the Cathedral and the House. The Cameronians made a most desperate resistance. From the tops of the walls which enclosed them, they fired furiously and incessantly upon the clustering multitudes which came forward. The assailants, after trying the effect of shot at a little distance, took to their swords, and, coming up to the very bottoms of the walls, struck boldly at the men by whom they were manned. The Cameronians met these attacks with their pikes and halberts, weapons which gave them a great superiority in such a position. Many of the assailing party posted themselves in houses throughout the town, and on heights near by, from which they kept up an incessant fire at the defenders. The Cameronians, on the other hand, maintained a close and effective fire from Dunkeld House, the leaden roof of which they fused down into slugs during the engagement. When the fight had been continued about an hour, Colonel Cleland—a brave

and sensible officer, although more of a religious enthusiast than a soldier,—was killed by two bullets, one of which passed through his head, at the same moment that the other pierced his liver. He was employed in encouraging his soldiers and officers, at the moment he received these wounds. He immediately turned, and endeavoured to get into the House, that his death might not be observed by the men, whom he was afraid it might dispirit ; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

The fight still continued with unabated fury. Captain Munro, to whom the command fell after Cleland's death, sent out a number of pikemen, with burning faggots fixed on the ends of their weapons, to set fire to the houses in which the Highlanders had posted themselves. These men performed their duty with great dexterity and success. The whole town was soon in a blaze. To add to the horrors of the scene, the conflagrators had locked all the doors of which they found the keys on the outside ; and the cries of several scores of helpless wretches, consigned to death by fire, mingled with the ordinary din of battle. The town then presented such a scene of strife, and flame, and smoke, and resounded with such horrible cries of defiance, triumph, agony, and fear, as no one there had ever before witnessed.

“ What was very remarkable,” says a Cameronian chronicler with the undoubting superstition of his time, “ though the houses were burnt all round, yet the smoke of them, and of the shot from both sides, was carried every where outward from the dyke upon the assailants, as if a wind had blown every way as from a centre within ! ”

At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the skirmish had continued four hours, the Highlanders, having failed in their supplies of ammunition,³ judged it advisable to retire from the town. Quitting the scene with the most acute sensations of disappointment, they ran off towards the hills, leaving, it is said, nearly three hundred of their body killed on the spot, while the enemy had lost only two officers, and fifteen private men. Their feelings were not a little embittered, as they were retiring, when they saw the Cameronians flourish their colours triumphantly within their fort, at the same time beating their drums, and hurling after them phrases of contempt and defiance. Their officers, says a presbyterian gazette, attempted, after they regained the hills, to make them come back, and renew the assault ; but they answered that, however willing to fight against men, they begged to be excused from fighting any more with devils.⁴

As soon as the Cameronians were fairly left to themselves, they proceeded with great activity to repair the breaches in their enclosures and barricades ; after which, in the devout spirit of their sect, they joined in singing a psalm of thanksgiving for their victory.

This action, in which there was displayed by both parties more of that better sort of courage, *passive resolution*, than in almost any other throughout the civil wars of the seventeenth century, was attended with great advantage to the Revolutionary party, because it served to show that the Highlanders were not perfectly invincible. The nation now saw clearly that it must have been a mere momentary feeling of irresolution which caused

five thousand men to lose the battle of Killiecranky against half their number, and that a little sober and stedfast fortitude was all that was necessary, in such a rencontre, to procure a contrary result. It was attended with consequences still more palpably advantageous. The Highlanders, now disgusted beyond measure with Colonel Cannan,⁵ retired first to Blair Castle, and afterwards each to his own home. Many even judged it preferable to take the benefit of William's indemnity, than to hold out under such a commander; in which number was the young Laird of Ballechan, son of the gentleman who had displayed so much zeal in behalf of Dundee at the commencement of the war. There was now, moreover, no longer any obstacle to prevent Mackay from garrisoning the castles of Blair and Finlarig, both of which objects he accomplished before the end of the season; and thus ended, with defeat, and even partial submission, the Highland enterprise which Dundee had commenced with so much vigour and so much success.

The winter of 1689-90, was distinguished in Scotland by an anomalous and almost incomprehensible plot, concerted between the Jacobites and the sterner order of the Presbyterians, for the restoration of King James by means of a majority in Parliament; ⁶ and during that period no military transactions of any consequence took place. Before the spring, however, the plot having been discovered, and, the two conspiring parties being each again thrown upon its own resources, preparations were made, by the Highlanders on one hand, to commence a campaign under Sir Ewen

Cameron of Lochail, and by Mackay on the other, to plant his long-projected fort at Inverlochy.

The Jacobite Highland chiefs, in the hope of being favoured by the plot, had written repeatedly to King James this winter; informing him of the straits to which they were reduced for want of stores, and imploring him, as he wished to keep a party alive in Scotland at all, to send them some small supply. James was at this period engrossed in making preparations for meeting King William, who was about to sail over to Ireland with a large English army; but he nevertheless, sent one vessel containing a considerable supply of ammunition and provisions, together with some additional Irish officers. Among others, he sent a Major-general Buchan, to act in chief commission with Colonel Cannan.

But the opportunity of turning the tide of affairs in Scotland was now lost. Before spring was far advanced, some of the Highland chiefs had entered into terms for a submission to the government. Many others were prevented from appearing on the field, by garrisons which Mackay had contrived to plant on their grounds, or by English war-vessels which hung upon their coasts. Even among those who were able to come out with their men, there was now a spirit for private and local warfare, which was calculated to have the most fatal effect upon the general design. Sir Ewen Cameron, for instance, with some others, advocated the propriety of making a descent upon Argyle the first movement of the campaign, merely from their wish to make reprisals upon the property of their feudal enemies.

Eventually, about the middle of April, when

Buchan thought it necessary to begin the campaign, it was not found possible to bring more than eight hundred men upon the field. With this band, small as it was, the Major-general marched towards Badenoch, and from thence down the vale of the Spey, intending to raise the vassals of the Gordon territory, and if possible beat up the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Inverness, which held so many of the most important clans at home. It was with the greatest reluctance that the Highlanders went in this direction, or in any other than that which pointed to the hated Argyle.

On coming to Culnakill, the place where Mac-kay was so nearly surprised by Dundee, a council of war was held, where it was the unanimous opinion of the Highland chiefs that they should march, at least through the more retired parts of the country, in order to avoid an attack from Sir Thomas Livingstone, who was lying with a considerable body of horse and other troops at Inverness. Unfortunately, although this advice was perfectly justified by the real circumstances of the case, it was not attended to by Buchan, who, as a merely regular soldier, knew and could know nothing of the desultory tactics of Highland warfare. Being bent upon attempting the Gordons, he marched next day still farther down the Spey, and encamped or cantoned his troops at Cromdale. On "the haughs" adjacent to that village, since celebrated by the Doric muse of Scotland, the very fate apprehended by the Highlanders overtook him.

Sir Thomas Livingstone had been for some time watching Buchan's motions, the whole of which were regularly reported to him, from the Low

countries, by the indefatigable Mackay. Whenever he learned that he had descended the Spey so far as to be nearer the low grounds of Moray than Inverness, he left that town to endeavour to check his progress ; taking with him his own horse regiment, three hundred in number, four hundred of the Earl of Leven's foot regiment, a small company of Lord Reay's Highlanders, six companies of the Laird of Grant's militia, about three hundred in number, and two regiments of horse ; the whole of which amounted to about twelve hundred, being half as many again as Buchan had with him.⁷ On the last day of April, when upon the march from Inverness towards Strathspey, he received intelligence from one of the Laird of Grant's friends, who was in possession of Balloch Castle near Cromdale, that the enemy had just come into the flat country in that neighbourhood, which they were spoiling at will, without appearing to be in the least apprehensive of an attack. He immediately redoubled his speed, and, marching a considerable time after nightfall, arrived at length at the Castle where his intelligencer resided, which was so near the position of the enemy that their camp-lights were visible from it. He had not designed or expected to come so near Buchan's camp, from which, indeed, his men were chiefly disposed to keep at a respectful distance. But when he found that he had advanced so close upon it, and was told that they could entertain no expectation of his presence in the country, he resolved to venture forward without delay.

His friend, the proprietor of Balloch Castle, acted with much prudence on this occasion, by shutting his gates, so as to prevent any of the

country gentlemen who had taken refuge with him, from communicating information of Livingstone's approach to the Highlanders. It afterwards appeared that Buchan's outposts and scouts acted with as great a degree of carelessness. Sir Thomas approached by a covered way along the river side, having first allowed his men only half an hour to rest. On coming near a ford, where Buchan had posted two hundred men, he sent off a small detachment from his main body to amuse them, and, taking the opportunity thus afforded, crossed the river a quarter of a mile below, without dispute, and almost without exciting alarm. As he moved forward from the bank of the Spey, he observed the Highlanders at length begin to bestir themselves, and even to move off in little parties towards the hills. Immediately galloping up with his horse, and with a band of Highlanders who are said to have run with even superior speed, he attempted to get betwixt them and the hill, so as to intercept their flight. A most singular fight then took place. The Highlanders, roused suddenly from their beds, and without any clothes, were observed, through the misty dawn, running in all directions throughout the street of the village, and the level grounds in the neighbourhood; some perfectly panic-struck, and disposed to get off on any terms, but the greater part fighting stoutly with sword and target as they retired. Livingstone's troops, horse and foot, mingled fiercely with them, and did great execution; for there was now a strong animosity between the adherents of the old, and the champions of the new government. In one little hamlet, a party of Macdonalds defended themselves with uncommon bravery, though not a

man among them had the least particle of clothing on his body, except the target which at once protected his shame and his life. The very commanders themselves, the redoubted Buchan and Cannan, were almost as much taken by surprise ; and the one had only his shirt and nightcap, while the other was without sword, hat, and coat.^s At length, after fighting their way across the plains, the mountaineers reached the bottoms of the hills, which they forthwith began to ascend with wonderful nimbleness. A dense mist happened at the time to hang a good way down the steeps ; and into its dim bosom the naked Highlanders escaped from the chase of the pursuing horse, like men received up into the clouds. A considerable number were slain on both sides.

The Highlanders, after this strange escapade, never drew into any considerable body, but kept up small skirmishing parties throughout the country, one of which, under Buchan, contrived, on one occasion, to frighten the Master of Forbes to such a degree, by merely appearing before him, that that "young youth," as Mackay somewhere terms him, galloped, with all his troops, between twenty and thirty miles without stopping, and never considered himself safe till he was snug within the walls of Aberdeen. Cannan, too, with two hundred horse, composed of the flower of the young Cavalier gentry, beat up the quarters of a large party of regular dragoons in Menteith, and drove them down to the very parks of Stirling. But no effort of the least mark or likelihood was made after this ; and it was now evident that the war was expiring. To complete the depression of the Jacobite party, King James lost Ireland on the 1st of July, by his cele-

brated defeat at the Boyne ; and Mackay, about the middle of the same month, planted an overwhelming garrison at Inverlochy. The friends of the exiled monarch then fairly gave up heart. Overhung by ships on their coasts, by garrisons in the bowels of their country, and large detachments of regular troops at all its extremities, they were forced to remain perfectly still, at the immediate hazard of life itself, or of drawing down a vengeance almost as much to be deprecated upon the heads of those defenceless persons in whom they were interested. Utterly despairing of any redemption of their affairs by external succour, they at length, early in 1691, sent the Earl of Dunfermline to King James, with a request that he would permit them, by a temporary and visible acknowledgment of the new government, to preserve themselves in the mean time, and retain that strength which might afterwards be employed in his service at a more befitting opportunity. The distressed monarch quickly gave them the license they wanted ; and, accordingly, commissioners being appointed by King William to receive their submission, they held a meeting with them at Achalader in Glenorchy ; where, in consideration of certain indemnifying sums being disbursed to them,⁹ as a compensation for their resignation of the Argyll and other estates, they agreed to live as peaceable subjects to the sovereign *de facto*, receiving from him in return the usual protection of the state, and continuing to enjoy all their valued patrimonial privileges. Before the end of January 1692, all the heads of clans had ratified their submission in terms of this treaty.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADVENTURES OF DUNDEE'S OFFICERS IN
FRANCE.

The Whigs may scoff, the Whigs may jeer ;
But ah, that love maun be sincere,
Which follows *him*, whate'er betide,
And for *his* sake leaves a' beside.

Jacobite Song.

NOTHING remains to be noted regarding Dundee's insurrectionary war, except the extraordinary conduct and adventures of his officers in France. About a hundred and fifty of these gentlemen, almost all the younger sons of the Scottish cavalier gentry, determined, when the clans were capitulating, to follow the broken fortunes of him whom they considered their only true lord, into his retirement in France, and there to await with patience the first favourable opportunity that might occur of attempting his restoration. Amidst the revolting displays of political insincerity and actual dishonour, which degrade the history of the Revolution in Scotland, it is delightful to record the generous abandonment of all selfish considerations, and the utter devotedness to a lofty and beautiful moral principle, which governed the actions of this noble band of gentlemen. Born, as all these men had

been, to the expectation of an easy fortune and domestic happiness in their own country ; educated perhaps rather to the avocations of peace than of war ; bound, as many of them must have been, by the most endearing ties to their native soil ; it could not well be from fickleness or levity of disposition that they made this resolution. It must have been purely from that strangely abstract sentiment of patriotism, which, of old, animated the bosoms of the inhabitants of Athens and Sparta, but which has since been so rarely seen upon earth, as to give rise to a doubt whether such a feeling ever existed.

On their first landing in France, the Scottish officers were quartered at Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in the French Flanders, where they were allowed pensions from Louis the Fourteenth, proportioned to the various ranks they had borne in Scotland. This, however, did not continue long. Louis becoming unfortunate in his war against William and the combined Protestant interest, these generous men, in September 1692, resolved no longer to be a burden upon his resources. Knowing at the same time that James, who was himself a pensionary of Louis, could not support them, they determined to enter the French service as a volunteer company of private sentinels, and thus procure for themselves the means of subsistence till better prospects should rise before their distressed master. They preferred a humble petition to King James, requesting his permission to carry this project into effect, and assuring him at the same time of the good will with which they would fly to his side whenever he required their services. But James implored them to abandon their resolution. He was sensible, he said, in the

highest degree, of the generosity of their motives, but he also knew their impracticability. He himself, when in exile before the Restoration, had commanded a company of officers, such as they proposed to form ; but several died, others drew their discharges in disgust, and at last it dwindled into nothing ; so that he got no honour by the command. It was absolutely impossible, he said, that men nurtured in ease and plenty should bear the physical hardships of the private soldier's duty, or that their spirits, accustomed to command, and to the tastes and habits of higher situations, should ever brook its moral degradation and restraint. But all his entreaties had no effect upon the firm purpose of these high-minded young men. They insisted again and again upon the propriety of their doing as they designed ; and at last they fairly overcame him by their entreaties, in so far that he condescended to name three or four individuals who should act as officers to their little corps.

When the time came for their entering into active service, they repaired to St Germain's, in order to pass in review before him. Borrowing the accoutrements of a French regiment, they drew themselves up one morning in the garden attached to the palace. James, who had appointed that day for a chase, was not aware of their intention, although he had conversed with them, among other persons, at his levee for some days before. Accordingly, as he passed through the garden to mount his horse, he did not recognise, in the ordinary figures before him, the well-bred and well-dressed gentlemen, with whom he had talked on the previous day in his presence-chamber. He asked

who they were; and was surprised to learn that this was the devoted band of loyalists, who had abandoned and endured so much for his sake. Struck by the contrast between the levity of his own present purpose, and the misery of their situation, he countermanded his amusement, and returned pensive to the palace.

Afterwards, on a day expressly appointed, he held a regular review of about seventy of the corps, who were going in company to the seat of war in the south of France. When the exercises were over, he addressed them in the following speech, which few will read without being sensibly affected.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me, beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the station of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your prince, he is of your own blood, a child capable of any impressions; and as

his education will be from you, it is impossible he can forget your merits.

"At your own desires, you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon't always to find me your parent and king."

He then entered their ranks, and, passing along, inquired the name of every individual, which he wrote down in his pocket-book, rendering him at the same time particular thanks for his service. When he had addressed a kind word to each, he removed to the front, where, taking off his hat, he made them a gracious bow, and fervently prayed God to bless and prosper them. After he had gone away, still thinking honour enough was not done them, he returned, bowed again, but burst into tears. The unfortunate gentlemen, affected to the last degree by this testimony of feeling in one whom they revered so much, knelt with one consent on the ground, and hung their heads in solemn silence. They then rose, and passed him with the usual honours of war.¹

Their first march was one of great length and difficulty, extending no less than nine hundred miles. They bore it, however, with a cheerfulness of deportment, which nothing but their high principles could have enabled them to maintain. Their unhappy story every where went before them, accompanied by the most favourable report of the suavity of their tempers; and, as these were qualifications which appealed with great force to

the French heart, they every where found friends and protectors. At each of the towns and villages where they halted, there was always some high municipal dignitary who interested himself in their welfare, paid them some public mark of respect, or exerted himself in selecting lodgings for them among the better orders of the people. Every morning, too, as they drew up before marching, there was always a crowd of young ladies assembled, upon whose hearts their history and their merit had produced a favourable impression. They seldom left any place, without being followed by the blessings and the tears of the inhabitants.

On arriving at Perpignan, in the south of France, they drew up in a rank before the house occupied by Lieutenant-general Shaseron; and there, as their historian informs us, the whole of the ladies in the town assembled to see them. Pity for fallen rank is a passion which assails the minds of women and of weak-minded men with greatest force. Few, therefore, of these gentlewomen could behold them without tears. Their commiseration even went so far, as to induce them to make up a purse of two hundred pistoles, which they sent to the unfortunate gentlemen as a mark of their esteem. Unfortunately, this donation, as well as many others, was intercepted by their officers, who, strange to say, appear from all accounts to have been just as remarkable for baseness of conduct as the private men were for all that was the reverse.

From Perpignan they proceeded to Canet, on the Mediterranean, where they joined another and smaller company, which had arrived before them, and with which they were now incorporated. They here received the clothes and arms proper to their

degraded character, and began to learn the exercises.. Having now spent all their loose money, and finding the French pay of threepence a-day, with one pound and a half of bread, too little to support them, they were obliged to open a sort of market at Canet, for the sale of their clothes and trinkets, for which they supposed they would have little use for a considerable time; and such was the general avidity of the people to possess relics and memorials of these extraordinary men; that their *bijouterie* generally brought good prices. They lived very comfortably upon the proceeds, during the winter of 1692-3, enjoying the respect not only of the inhabitants of the town, but also of the officers of the French army, who, indeed, are said to have paid them greater attentions in this their humble condition, than they could have been expected to pay them in their original rank. Before the spring of 1693 was far advanced, they were joined by another corps under Major Rutherford, and by a veteran company of Cavalier deserters from Dunbarton's regiment, under Captain Foster.

The whole three companies having received an order to march to camp on the 1st of May, the Marshal de Noailles, commander of the French army, ordered them to appear in review before him at Perpignan; when, says their historian, "it was both melancholy and wanton to see so many worthy gentlemen going away with their half-pikes exchanged for firelocks, and their gorgets and sashes for cartouch-boxes and haversacks." Marshal de Noailles was so much pleased, or so much touched with their appearance on parade, that he desired them to march a second time past

him; and he presented them, at the conclusion, with a mule that cost him fifty pistoles, to carry their tents.

In the march which ensued—a march across the Pyrenees—they found great use in the Marshal's well-timed present; but they, nevertheless, suffered greatly from the necessity of carrying their tent-poles, pins, kettles, and other stores and utensils. Having joined the army, which was lying before the city of Roses, they entered upon their duty with a degree of spirit which excited universal admiration. There being no pioneers in the army, they employed themselves actively in that capacity, hewing down wood, bringing it to the trenches, then setting it up in the shape of fascines, and also in raising batteries. In all partisan, volunteer, and foraging parties, especially where there was a notable chance of meeting the enemy, they mounted double their required number; and as for such duties as those of advanced guards or piquets, they regarded them as only a species of amusement or relaxation. In the valley of Lamparda, where Roses is situated, the water is so muddy and scarce, and the climate so unfavourable to all but the natives, that when the King of Spain heard that Marshal Noailles had invested the place, he publicly remarked, that he required no army to fight him. In addition to such horrors, the Scottish officers had scarcely any thing to eat, except horse-beans and garlick. Accordingly, many of them became afflicted with fevers and fluxes. Yet, however sick or however enervated, no persuasions on the part of their superiors could ever prevail upon these hardy sons of Caledonia to retire to the hospital. Every per-

sonal consideration, every natural emotion, was, in them, overpowered by the desire of distinction and the feeling of duty.

One day, as they were mounted in the trenches along with some detachments of expatriated Irish, a large Spanish party sallied out of the town into a field of barley very near their position. An equal number of officers immediately attacked them, and beat them back to the drawbridge. The Spaniards sallied forth again, but were once more repulsed. Again they tried their fate, and again the brave officers drove them into their town. A French Major-General, who was present, could not help asking one of their Colonels, (Scott), who was that day in command of the trenches, why one particular body of the men he saw beneath him should exert themselves with such persevering valour, while the rest stood aside, and never seemed inclined to take the least share in the honour of the day. "Why," answered the proud Scot, "these are the company of Scottish officers; the others are Irish." "Oh," said the Major-General with a smile, "I ask your pardon; I have often heard that Scotland and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but never knew the difference till now."²

It would almost appear that a degree of insanity mingled with the valour of these officers. A grand attack having been projected by the French commander, the Scottish companies, along with some parcels of Irish, volunteered to mount the trenches. Major Rutherford, with his company of grenadiers, was the first to pass along towards the point where they were to take up their position. He, to show his daring, did not go on that side of the trench which was protected from the scope of

the enemy's batteries, but on the exposed side; and all his men followed him. Colonel Brown, who followed with another battalion, was not willing to hazard his life unnecessarily; but he was obliged, in honour, not to do less than what had been done by his companion in arms; and he accordingly went on the exposed side also. It was only at the express command of the Marshal, communicated to them by an aide-du-camp, that they altered their course; in which, had they remained but six minutes longer, they would have been all cut to pieces, by a fire which the enemy then opened up.

Rutherford's grenadier company, on this occasion, took up a position under a trench close to the town, on which they immediately opened up so smart a fire, that the besieged looked for nothing but an attack on one of the breaches. This frightened them to such a degree, that they beat a chamade, and professed a disposition to enter into terms of surrender. The Marshal made his demands; but they were so exorbitant, that the Spaniards resolved to hold out a little longer. Rutherford's company renewed their firing, and that with such effect, that the besieged, at last quite terrified about their breach, gave up the town. The governor afterwards asked Marshal de Noailles from what country he had procured the grenadiers whose hot firing had caused him to surrender. "Ah," said the Frenchman, smiling, "ce sont mes enfans—they are my children: they are the King of Great-Britain's Scottish officers, who, to show their willingness to share his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms, and chosen to serve under my command." Next day, his Ex-

cellency, in riding through the camp, halted before the piquet of the Scottish companies, and, taking off his hat, thanked them publicly for their good services in the trenches, which he freely acknowledged to have been the cause of his gaining the town. He at the same time took care to represent their conduct in the warmest light to the King, who was so much affected by the narrative, that he immediately took coach from Versailles to St Germain's, and thanked King James for the services of his subjects.

It is painful, in recording the noble conduct of these men, to discover that their miseries would have been less than they were, but for the speculation and treachery of those whom they had chosen to command them. King James, who looked upon their services as almost entitling him to consider himself as still an effective ally to the King of France,³ allowed them fivepence each *per diem* from his own limited resources; which was paid monthly. This little pittance was always dreadfully reduced by the contra accounts of the captains for accoutrements, which are justly supposed to have been chiefly fictitious, since the King of France then allowed his soldiers what was called *half-mounting*. The Marshal de Noailles, moreover, had marked his sense of their late useful service, by a present of one pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes to each man. But their captains in no case gave more than one of these articles to an individual soldier; while to some they gave none at all. Some even baser instances of their treachery will speedily be noted.

What renders the bravery of the company at the

siege of Roses more remarkable, is the fact, that they were then almost all reduced to extreme weakness by the diseases which have just been mentioned, or by the ague. Even after the siege was happily terminated, and when their presence at the camp did not involve such a point of honour as before, nothing could prevail upon them to retire to the hospitals in the neighbouring villages. "They had not come," they said, "to lie by like old rotten walls, when the King of France, who was so kind to their master, had business for them in the field. No, they would stay in camp, while one man of them was left alive." It should be mentioned, that they lost ten of their number in the trenches, on the day when Roses was taken, and that about twenty others fell victims to the local diseases.

About the middle of June 1693, the army marched to Piscador, where, out of 26,000 who left Roses, not above 10,000 arrived, in consequence of the excessive heat of the season, and the want of water. During this march, there occurred another instance of the kindly zeal and indefatigable spirit of the Scottish officers. An attack being apprehended on the rear, all the piquets were ordered to be drawn out, and to march; but, as the greater part of the army had not come up to the ground, the corporals could not make out all the companies. In this dilemma, the whole of the Scottish company that were in the camp mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquets, where they ranked themselves up in good order, and held themselves ready for whatever duty might occur. The superior officers, on

seeing them, could not help remarking to each other, "*Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se montre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger* : The gentleman is always a gentleman, and so will ever show himself in the time of need and danger."

Towards the end of 1693, in consequence of an application to King James, they were permitted to remove from the unhealthy station where they had endured so much distress, and to march to garrison at Silistad in Alsace. It was the depth of winter when they performed this long and toilsome march ; hardship and disease had reduced them so low as to look rather like ghosts than men ; their clothes were old and torn ; and, to complete their misery, the country through which they passed, was suffering under a grievous famine. Yet, although many of them must have frequently reflected, in those dark hours of toil and pain, upon the comforts, and the prospects, and the endearments which they had left behind amidst the hills of Scotland, no one ever gave utterance to a word of serious repinement, or to the least reflection upon the conduct of him for whom they had sacrificed themselves. On the contrary, they never talked with regret, except about the misfortunes of their master, the magnitude of which, they thought, was such as to throw their own entirely into shade.

At Silistad, where the famine prevailed in all its horrors, they were obliged to dispose of the last articles of value they had, in order to procure the bare necessities of life. Formerly, they had sold their scarlet and gold-laced clothes, their watches, and other less indispensable bijouterie. They were now reduced to give away their buckles,

their periwigs, their ruffles, cravats, and stockings. In the beginning of their campaign, they had laid aside articles of value, which they were determined never to sell, on account of their association with certain beloved individuals at home. One would say, "Here is the seal of my family; I got it from my grandfather; therefore, I will never part with it." Another would say, "I got this ring from my mistress before parting with her; nothing but death shall wrest it from me." At the irresistible call of hunger, every thing now left them. After all, the food they were thus enabled to purchase, was only of the coarsest sort, as horse-beans, turnips, colewort, and yellow seed boiled in water; bread being so dear that the whole of their daily pay could have only purchased half a pound.

They spent the whole summer of 1694 at Silistad, unable from disease to make up a battalion, so as to enter into active service. Yet one opportunity occurred during this period of inactivity, of showing that their wonted spirit had not left them. Prince Lewis of Baden had crossed the Rhine with an army of eighty thousand men, and staid three weeks in Alsace, which he designed to lay under contribution. The governor of Silistad apprehended that his Serene Highness would immediately lay siege to his fortress; in which case, he often declared publicly that he would depend more upon the service of the three Scots companies than on all the rest of his garrison. On the advance, however, of Marshal de Boufflers, with an army of 15,000 horse and dragoons, Prince Lewis was thrown into such a consternation that he retired over the Rhine, leaving all his baggage behind him, and drowning three thousand of his men in the

river. A hundred of his hussars, who had been out on a plundering party through the country, were left isolated in the territory now fully possessed by the French, and were in the utmost perplexity as to their future course. Resolving at last to break through at all hazards, they began to march towards Basil in Switzerland, where they thought they should be able to cross the Rhine. When the governor of Silistad learned their course, he selected the Scottish company of officers, as a forlorn hope or corps of honour, to intercept them at a pass through which he knew they must endeavour to make their way. They went on this desperate duty with the utmost alacrity, resolved to justify by their conduct the great compliment which their commander had paid them. Unfortunately, however, their merit was not here put to the proof. The hussars, being informed beforehand by a Jew of the nature of the guard appointed at that pass, returned in despair to Strasburg, where they surrendered at discretion. In giving themselves up, they declared, as a sort of protest against the imputation of pusillanimity, that, but for the guard being composed of these terrible Scotch officers, they would have broken through, had all the garrisons in Alsace been there to oppose them.

Five of their number died at Silistad, which being reported to King James by some unconcerned person, he was graciously pleased to send a letter to their commander, ordering him to give discharges to all who wished to retire from the service, and to send these persons to his court at St Germain. Only fourteen gentlemen took advantage of this command. They were most graciously received

by their ill-starred monarch, and had it put to their choice either to remain at St Germain upon pensions, or to be transported safely home to their own country. While they were deliberating which course to choose, they received a gratification of the highest order from the following little adventure, which befell four of their number. As these four were loitering one day near the gate of the palace, the son of King James, then a boy of six years of age, came out to enter his carriage, which was about to drive him to Marli for his amusement. The child recognised them as he was entering the carriage, and immediately, with that extreme suavity of disposition for which he was all his life remarkable, beckoned to them to approach. They hurried to the steps of the carriage, and flinging themselves on their knees, kissed his hand with all the enthusiasm proper to their party. The young prince, by an effort of understanding beyond his years, complimented them on their services in behalf of his father. He was sorry, he said, for their misfortunes; but he hoped the time would come when his father should be able to compensate them, and that in such a style as should leave them no cause of complaint. For his own part, he was but a child, and did not yet understand much of such matters; but he knew enough to make him appreciate their zeal in behalf of his father and mother, and to make him resolve never to forget it. He then gave them his purse, which contained ten pistoles, and three half-crowns, requesting them to make themselves merry with it, and to drink the King's and Queen's health. It is needless to describe the tumult of joyful feeling which

this incident gave rise to in their bosoms, or the uproarious scene of true cavalier jollity in which they immediately after dissipated the prince's present.

This portion of the company remained for some time afterwards at St Germain's, on a pension of tenpence each *per diem*; a miserable pittance, but which was, perhaps, exactly enough proportioned to the resources of the unfortunate monarch who disbursed it. They had here the satisfaction of bringing one of their treacherous captains to the disgrace which he so richly deserved.

The rest of the company, together with two inferior corps of Scottish refugees, who had accompanied them all along, remained in garrison at Sislstad till February 1695, when they marched to Old Brisac. From Old Brisac they were afterwards sent to Fort Cadette on the Rhine, where they lay sixteen months. At Strasburg, to which they subsequently removed, they performed, in December 1697, one of the most brilliant of all their exploits. General Stirk having advanced with 16,000 men to the banks of the Rhine, which he designed to cross, the Marquis de Selle drew out all the garrisons in Alsace to oppose him, and among the rest the Scottish companies. There happened to be an island in the middle of the river betwixt the two armies, where a battery, planted by the Imperial general, would have been of the most fatal effect to the French camp, besides affording a pier for a bridge by which the Germans might cross into Alsace. This was seen by General Stirk, who accordingly lost no time in throwing over a bridge to the island, and establishing thereon a band of five hundred men to throw up intrenchments. The French General was almost

in despair at seeing the proceedings of his enemy, and, to complete his distress, he found it impossible, by the want of boats, to make any attempt at interrupting them.

From this dilemma the infallible "*gentilhommes Ecossois*" came forward to relieve him. It had struck the minds of these daring men, that, by wading through the river, and making a night attack on the island, they might, without any assistance, be able to expel the garrison of Germans, and restore it to the French. Their scheme was bold in the extreme, insomuch that, when they announced it to the Marquis, and asked permission to carry it into effect, he could only shrug up his shoulders, pray God to bless them, and tell them to do as they pleased.

That very night they proceeded to put their plan in execution. Having got quietly under arms, and tied their shoes, stockings, and accoutrements, around their necks, they advanced stealthily to the banks of the river. Here one of the customs of their native land was found of some avail. They first arranged themselves in a line, according to an approved Highland fashion; then, holding each other firmly by the hand, they waded slowly and with collected minds into the depths of the river, the force of which had thus very little effect upon them. Having passed the deepest part, they stopped a moment to unslung their cartouch-boxes, and prepare their firelocks; after which they marched towards the island, with their arms arranged in such a manner as to be ready to pour their fire upon the Germans, so soon as they should approach them. Their boldness had all its proper effect in surprising the enemy, none of

whom had the least expectation of an assault. One well-directed volley into the midst of their intrenchments, and the unfortunate Germans were involved in a complete rout. As they fled, the officers pursued them; and thus a good number were slain. The survivors broke down their bridge as they passed, leaving the Scottish company in complete possession of the island. When the French General soon after learned what had taken place, he made the sign of the cross on his face and breast, and was lost in admiration. He afterwards went in person to the island, and, embracing each individual officer, thanked him in the warmest terms for his services. He declared that he never knew a braver action done in the field, since ever he had entered his profession. The island was afterwards called *L'Isle d'Ecosse*, in commemoration of their good conduct.

After this period, the three Scots companies were engaged in very little active service, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697. If we are to believe their historian, King William refused to commence the proceedings preparatory to that treaty, till the company of officers which had performed so many brave exploits against his allies, should be broken. It was accordingly dissolved at Silistad. At that time, what with war, disease, and perhaps anguish of mind, very few survived. Not above four, out of a hundred and fifty, ever returned to their native country.

The people of England are justly proud of the many noble patriots who protected their liberties through the tempests of the Revolution; and the inhabitants of Scotland are laudably inspired with feelings of the utmost admiration and reverence

for the pious men who contributed to bring about that glorious event in their own country. Yet it may be safely disputed, if either nation can hold up any set of men who acted through the whole transactions a part of more self-denial, generosity, and pure principle, than what was displayed by the friends and officers of the Viscount of Dundee.

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION IN SCOTLAND,
IN 1715, 1716,
UNDER
THE EARL OF MAR.

Saturninus. Noble Patricians, patrons of my right,
Defend the justice of my cause with arms ;
And countrymen, my loving followers,
Plead my successive title with your swords :
I am his first-born son, that was the last
That wore the imperial diadem of Rome ;
Then let my father's honours live in me,
Nor wrong mine age with this indignity.

Bassianus. Romans, friends, followers, favourers of
my right,
If ever Bassianus, Cæsar's son,
Were gracious in the eyes of royal Rome,
Keep then this passage to the Capitol ;
And suffer not dishonour to approach
Th' imperial seat, to virtue consecrate,
To justice, continence, and nobility :
But let desert in pure election shine ;
And, Romans, fight for freedom in your choice.

Titus Andronicus.

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION IN SCOTLAND,
IN
1715-16.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Speak, citizens, for England; who's your King?
King John.

It is related, that, on the 6th of December 1688, when the Queen of James the Second was in the act of flying from the kingdom, she was obliged to wait for an hour under the walls of Lambeth Church, till a hackney coach could be procured from the city, to convey her to the boat upon the Thames. She stood, with the Prince of Wales in her arms (then a child of four months), very imperfectly sheltered from the heavy cold rain of a December night; not a single attendant, out of all that formerly constituted her court, was there to

cheer her mind, or relieve the irksomeness of her burden ; and, as her eye wandered back upon the multitudinous lights of the far-spread city, she had ample time to compare the splendid retrospect of her fortunes, which that scene seemed to symbolize, with the dark future into which she was about to plunge. It is strange to think, that the interests of a great people should have depended, so much as they did, upon the fate of the miserable little infant which this desolate woman bore in her arms. Had a constable happened to come up during that hour, or had the coach been delayed, it is very probable that the House of Hanover would have never sat upon the throne—that we should have been spared the three rebellions of 1689, 1715, and 1745—that, indeed, a totally different turn would have been given to the fate of the British empire. It is vain, of course, to speculate upon what might have happened, but for certain little circumstances ; because, in the economy of both nations and individuals, little circumstances are perpetually affecting their fate ; and what is there more in one little circumstance than in another ? Yet there is something peculiarly striking in the matter alluded to. It is allowed to have been the grand error, or rather perhaps the only misfortune, of the great men who achieved the Revolution, that they did not secure the person of the infant heir of King James, so as to educate him for eventual sovereignty in a style of politics and religion suitable to the wishes of the nation. By permitting his escape to France along with his parents, they insured his being brought up in principles which unfitted him for the government of the British nation ; and, thus inducing the necessity of adopting

a Protestant heir from a distant branch of the royal family, they gave unnecessary occasion to a race of pretenders, and introduced an uncertainty of principle into the whole theory of succession, which may even yet be productive of mischief. It is certainly to be lamented, that the Queen was not arrested, with her precious charge, during that last hour of her residence in Britain, which she spent under the walls of Lambeth Church.

The young Prince, who unconsciously passed through this strange adventure, grew up in France under the eye of his aged father ; a boy possessed by nature of the sweetest disposition, but totally unfitted, by any force of genius, to overcome the difficulties of his situation. He is said to have been exactly that sort of person, who, if so born, would have made an excellent English country gentleman ; one neither disposed to be over-bigoted on the subject of the game-laws, nor too lenient in regard to the lighter offences of larceny and horse-stealing. With a highly intellectual face and forehead, his mind was considerably beneath the average. When James died, he advised the youthful Prince, with his last words, never to forsake his religion ; and, whether from conscientiousness or obstinacy, or from sound views of policy, the advice was carefully attended to. He became an unrelenting Catholic. He resembled Charles the Second in the darkness of his complexion, and also, to a certain extent, in his manners, which were extremely courteous and graceful. His heart was so good, that it is probable, had he succeeded to the throne without difficulty, he would have never entered into active persecution of the Protestants, or the Whigs ; but, his mind being at the

same time weak, and therefore liable to evil counsel, he might have eventually precipitated the nation into a state of contention. Every thing considered, it was certainly the wisest, because the safest course, which the British nation could adopt under the circumstances, to exclude him from the throne, and submit to the government of a family with a parliamentary title.

It is supposed that, even so early as 1680, the Hanover family began to have views upon the British throne. William Prince of Orange, calculating upon the deficiency of male issue from Charles and James, had then formed the germ of that splendid project which he afterwards carried into effect. In a visit to Hanover that year, it is supposed that he sounded the inclination of the Brunswick princes towards a scheme which promised them a nearer approach to the succession than they could otherwise have hoped for. George Louis, son of the reigning Duke, (afterwards George I.), perhaps in prosecution of this scheme, visited England in the same year, and offered himself to the Princess Anne, but was rejected. The mainspring of the policy of the Brunswick family in this affair, was the Princess Sophia, consort of the reigning Duke; a woman whose masculine understanding was only surpassed by her inordinate ambition. George, her son, was comparatively indifferent to the grand prospects which were opening before him. He liked the quiet of his little German court, and feared to encounter the tumultuous factions of Britain. Sophia, however, was perfectly indefatigable in her endeavours to further the object she had in view. Even while the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne,

was still alive, with every likelihood of precluding her succession, she maintained a constant correspondence with King William on the subject of her pretensions. Immediately after the Revolution, she had caused her husband Ernest Augustus to withdraw himself from his alliance with France, and to attach himself to the Protestant interest. In 1700, when the Duke of Gloucester died, King William, in consequence of her entreaties, represented her pretensions to Parliament; and, in June 1701, there was passed the famous Act of Succession, by which it was enacted, that, failing the issue of William and Anne, the crown should descend to the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants. From this time, her whole attention was devoted to the conciliation of the British people. All the forces of her son's dominions were brought to swell the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and defend the Protestant interest. George exerted himself, by the vigour of his military conduct, to make himself familiar and endeared to the army. During the intervals of the campaigns, when large quantities of the troops lay in Hanover, the unwearied princess took every means of ingratiating herself with the chief officers, many of whom were noblemen, or destined to become so in time. Above all; by her high diplomatic genius, and the abilities she displayed for governing, she endeavoured to approve herself truly fitted for the lofty situation at which she aimed.

It will thus be seen, that the adoption of a Hanover sovereign, after the death of Queen Anne, instead of recalling the son of James the Second, was not perhaps determined so much by a prefe-

rence of a Protestant to a Roman Catholic, or of a man bred in principles of freedom to one educated by a tyrant, as by a simple estimation of the superior personal merit of the individual adopted. Had the timid and imbecile James stood in the place of the Elector of Brunswick, it is very probable that he would not have been chosen: the energetic mind of Sophia, or the moderation and good sense of George, might, on the other hand, have been preferred, even with the disqualification of Catholicism;—so much do personal qualities overpass and outshadow all others in the business of life.

To make what follows as plain as possible to the ordinary reader, it will be necessary to condescend upon a few genealogical particulars.

James II., whom the reader has seen driven from his throne in the preceding narrative, died at St Germain in 1701. His son James, the heir of Britain according to all customary rules of succession, was then a boy of twelve years. By the very act of the Revolution, this person had been debarred for ever from the throne. The succession was settled in the heirs of William and Mary; failing them, in the heirs of William; failing them, in the heirs of the Princess Anne. By the recent Act of Settlement, when William, Mary, and Anne, had all failed in producing heirs, it was devolved on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James the First, by her mother, Elizabeth of Bohemia. At the time of the Act of Settlement, there were forty descendants of James the First alive, all of whom were nearer in line than Sophia; but she was the nearest Protestant: and it may be pointed out, to the honour of the Ca-

tholic religion, that not one out of forty individuals professing it, could be found to barter conscience for a throne. The nearest heir, in default of King James the Second's infant family, was the Dutchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles the First. She thought proper to protest publicly, before all the States of Europe, against the decision of the British Parliament; but her appeal was quite unheeded in the quarter where it could have been of any effect. It is from this lady that the Sardinian family, who are now nearest in blood to the line of the royal family, have descended.*

At the time when the Act of Settlement was passed, the feeling of the nation was decidedly in favour of a Protestant succession. The act itself, indeed, was only the result of the general feeling. The horrors of the period preceding the Revolution were still fresh in the public recollection, and nothing had occurred to supersede them. Afterwards, however, although Sophia gained a great deal of affection among the English nobility, some circumstances occurred, to make the prospect of her succession less acceptable to the public. The great Whig war, as it may be called, which Anne carried on with such success against France, left the nation exhausted and in disgust with the measures of that party. The alarms raised by Sacheverel's trial, about the danger of the church from Whigs and dissenters, turned almost the whole of England at once into Toryism. In Scotland, four-fifths of the people were so disgusted at the Union, that they regarded the succession of the Brunswick family, for which that detested treaty was instituted, with the most unkindly feelings. At the same time, as Queen Anne herself was supposed to wish

for the restoration of her exiled brother, the people at large, who regarded her majesty with a feeling little short of worship, felt greatly disposed to overlook the Catholicism and other disqualifications of "the Pretender," and to receive him whom they considered their native and legitimate prince, in preference to a foreigner who had nothing but the accident of his faith to recommend him. In short, towards the end of Anne's reign, it was apparent that the fears and sentiments which occasioned the Revolution were in some measure forgotten by the general public, and that there was some danger of an unconditional restoration of the exiled prince, similar to that of Charles the Second, fifty years before.

The change of a Whig for a Tory ministry in 1710, seemed to make this prospect almost certain. By discarding all the men who had hitherto supported the fabric of the Revolution, and taking into her counsels a set of statesmen exactly opposed to them, the Queen plainly showed that she wished her brother to be her successor. The Parliament which supported this ministry, was, in consequence of Sacheverel's high-church riots, almost entirely composed of Tories. The nation was now undergoing one of those strange revulsions of feeling, which have been observed to take place periodically at all periods of its history. Twenty years before, Catholicism was the grand bugbear. To avoid that, many sacrifices had been made, and many absurdities enacted. For some time, the wildest puritanism or the rankest infidelity seemed preferable; and, of course, the dissenters and republicans made great way. Now, the alarm was all against these bodies of men; and the people were flying back for

safety to the antagonist principles of passive obedience and high-church. The popular riots, which, about the time of the Revolution, bore a decidedly democratic complexion, were now altogether for legitimate monarchy. It may, to this day, be a wonder in England, that the Hanover family secured its accession at a crisis which happened to be so peculiarly unfavourable to it.

The reasons why it did secure its accession, may be very briefly stated. Notwithstanding the high-church out-cry, it was still impossible to make the idea of a Catholic sovereign, if broadly set forth, acceptable to the people. There was still an immense party decidedly adverse to the succession of the Chevalier de St George. This party was out of power, and had but a miserable minority of representatives in Parliament. Still it was considerable in the nation, and comprised some of the greatest men of the age. What gave it a great advantage over its adversaries, was, that its object was already sanctioned by Acts of Parliament, which could not be altered by the Tories without the greatest risk. Its rallying words were better, and more avowable. While the Tories, with all their supremacy as a party, could only intrigue in the obscurest and most dangerous manner for the restoration of the Chevalier, the Whigs could openly avow their zeal for the Protestant succession, and had it in their power, at any time, in or out of Parliament, to challenge their adversaries to declare a different object at their peril. To act under the risk of a charge of high treason, is a very different thing from acting with the permission and countenance of the laws. Accordingly, there was a confidence and vigour in the proceedings of the

Whigs, which the Tories wanted altogether. The latter party had, moreover, a lamentable deficiency of great men to act as its leaders : the two ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke, make but a poor figure in the contemplation of posterity, as compared with Somers, Halifax, Marlborough, and Walpole. They were also divided between themselves. In short, it appears, that during the four last years of Queen Anne, (from 1710 to 1714), a conspiracy was carried on by the ministry and their friends, for the restoration of the exiled prince ; and this conspiracy was sanctioned, to a great extent, by the crown, the church, and the people ; but it is also evident, that no consistent plan was adopted, and no decisive step taken to ensure the accomplishment of their object.

The sudden death of Anne, August 1. 1714, while the plot was still in its elements, proved destructive to the hopes of the Tories. On such an occasion, it may easily be supposed, that the party whose scheme was most mature, and least likely to be attended by dangerous consequences, would be successful. The scheme for the succession of the Hanover family was most mature ; it had, indeed, been prepared for many years. It was the ostensible object of the laws of the nation. No danger could arise to any set of men from advocating or promoting it. The Tory project was, on the contrary, at once ill formed and treasonable. Without the absolute certainty of success, no man could be expected to proceed upon it a single step. The balance was therefore easily cast in favour of the House of Hanover. On the morning of the Queen's decease, the Tory chiefs met in a sort of despair, to deliberate whether they should proclaim King,

James ; and Bishop Atterbury is said to have offered to do so himself, if supported by a small guard. But the risk was evidently too great ; and they ended by resolving to postpone their scheme till after the accession of the Parliamentary sovereign, when they hoped to put it into execution with no greater risk, and with better prospects of success.

The better to conceal this design, and in the hope of maintaining place in the administration of King George, ² the Tories affected to concur heartily in his accession. On his landing at Greenwich, September 18th, no set of men received him with more cordial expressions of congratulation. The conduct of the Earl of Mar, one the Secretaries of State, may be instanced as a specimen of the rest. This nobleman had, on the 30th of August, sent a letter to the new King, entreating his Majesty not to give ear to any insinuations which might be made regarding his loyalty, asseverating that he entertained the warmest affection for the House of Hanover, and praying that the people might long have the happiness to be governed by so excellent a monarch. He reminded the King, in the course of this memorable epistle, that his family had been hereditary custodiers of the persons of his Majesty's Scottish ancestors, when under age ; and, in particular, that a predecessor of his had had the charge of the Queen of Bohemia, his Majesty's grandmother, who had thought proper to acknowledge the kindness she then experienced, by letters which were still extant. Before the King arrived in Britain, Mar had further exerted himself to procure a letter from the chiefs and gentlemen of the Highlands, expressing sentiments of zealous affection towards the new royal family. As great ap-

prehensions had always been entertained regarding the well-known disaffection of these personages, he hoped that a document, shewing a contrary disposition, and apparently procured by his influence, would secure him no small favour with King George. He, accordingly, approached the Sovereign at his landing, with a mind prepared for any event but neglect or degradation. Unfortunately for him and his companions, George had been apprised by older and trustier friends, of the hollowness of all such professions. It was obvious to the mind of this prince, that, as his cause had always been urged exclusively by the liberal or Whig party, and had been as constantly opposed, or at least coldly treated by the Tories, the former were alone worthy of his confidence. He had already resolved upon sweeping the Cabinet of all the ministry of Queen Anne, and substituting a set of sound Whigs in their place. He had already displaced Bolingbroke, and forbidden Ormond to approach him ; to Oxford, the late Prime Minister, he scarcely vouchsafed the honour of kissing his hand ; and as for the Earl of Mar, notwithstanding all his professions and addresses, upon him his Majesty is said to have literally turned his back.

As there is a pleasure in being accused innocently, so is there a mortification in being suspected where we are conscious of equivocal intentions. The Tories, extruded from their offices, marked by the scorn of the King, and neither able nor willing, perhaps, to prove themselves innocent of what they were charged with, could scarcely conceal the rage and despair which filled their bosoms. Angry even with themselves for having crouched unne-

necessity to a person whom they despised, they had no refuge for their wounded feelings but in counter defiance. They had now not only the injuries which others had done to them, but those which they had done to themselves, to be revenged upon the King. Formerly, they had hesitated, or many of them had hesitated, between the Chevalier and the Elector of Hanover; being partly afraid of the Papist, and partly indifferent to the Protestant; but the degradation of their party determined almost every mind in the former course. They were now disposed to overlook every disqualification connected with the son of James the Second, and to close their eyes to all the miseries of a civil war, so that they could only escape the sway of the man who had insulted them.

It is to be regretted that the vengeance or the fears of the Whigs should have caused them to drive the Tories to this extremity. The retention of a few of their number in the cabinet, according to King William's policy, or even some gentler method of removing them, might have prevented the catastrophe which ensued. But it would almost appear that the ascendant party wished to precipitate their opponents into hostilities, for the purpose of crushing them.

It is difficult, at least, to account, on any other principle, for the prosecutions which they immediately instituted in the House of Lords, against the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Ormond, and the Viscount Bolingbroke, for high treason. Almost the only ostensible crime with which they could charge these men, was their having concluded a peace with France, when, by prosecuting the war

a little longer, they might probably have reduced the enemy to extremities. The real cause of the prosecution was political hate ; for there can be no doubt that the accused had acted, throughout their period of power, with what appeared to them a view to the good of the nation. No design of betraying their country's interest to an enemy could be detected in their conduct.

Of all the three Lords accused, the Earl of Oxford alone ventured to stand a trial. He had been less inclined than the rest to the succession of the Chevalier St George, and had taken more frequent and hearty measures to assure the Hanover Family of his affection. He probably, therefore, felt confidence enough in his innocence, to make sure of an acquittal. Ormond and Bolingbroke had not the same daring. They made a precipitate retreat to France, where they very soon accepted office under the Chevalier.

The Earl of Mar, who had formerly intrigued in only the most distant terms with the Court of St Germain, now also devoted himself entirely to this interest. It is a singular anecdote in the life of this man, that, within the course of a few months, he addressed one letter to the Elector of Hanover and another to the Chevalier St George, both alike full of the warmest expressions of affection, and both perhaps alike undictated by sincere feeling.

John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, whom we are presently to see heading a formidable insurrection against the new government, was the son of that Earl, who, as related in the preceding narrative, deserted the party of Lord Dundee, by delivering up Stirling Castle, and surrendering himself to the Convention. He had entered into pub-

lic life, early in Queen Anne's reign, as a partisan of the court; in other words, a Whig or revolutionist. Afterwards, in 1704, on the country or Jacobite party coming into power, he wheeled about, and imposed himself upon his late opponents as one of the most zealous of their friends. Previous to the Union, when the Whig party again became triumphant, he turned once more; and he was conspicuous in the list of commissioners for carrying that measure into effect. The circumstance of his having made the first motion in parliament for the Union, and his activity in all the subsequent proceedings, procured him much odium in his native country; but, at the change of the Whig for the Tory ministry in 1710, he had the address to make still another change, and to be made one of the Secretaries of State. It has been already seen that he would have willingly been converted back to the Protestant succession, if King George could have only assured him of a continuance in office. Finding himself rejected in that quarter, he was finally, or at least for the present, settled down into a friend of the exiled House of Stuart. With all this strange lubricity of political principle, which, if it could have been justified by any thing, would have been justified by the singular difficulties of those times, the Earl of Mar possessed much available ability. He was gifted to an extraordinary degree with the advantages of address. His manners were the most insinuating that could be conceived. His mind was so acute that it could penetrate into the most recondite thoughts of those around him; at the same time, it was shrouded in so deep a veil of dissimulation, that no other man could make the same observations upon him. It

resembled that species of Highland target, which, besides defending its owner, has a projecting dagger to wound the enemy. He was better qualified for the court than the camp. Indeed, he knew nothing of the military art; nor possessed any other qualification for it, than the simple one of personal courage. His fortune was embarrassed, in consequence of the loyalty of his ancestors during the Civil War; which was perhaps the main cause of the peculiar figure he made in public life; for he was exactly one of those adventurers in the world, who are at once too poor, and too fond of what is to be purchased by wealth, to maintain an exact moral perpendicularity. The suppleness of his politics, joined to the excessive courteousness of his manners, caused him to get the mean nickname of *Bobbing John*, which his enemies borrowed in his favour from the chorus of an old song. But it is but justice to the memory of a man who has been somewhat hardly dealt with by posterity, to say that, under better circumstances, he might have shone as one of the greatest and most unimpeachable characters.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to give a very clear or comprehensive view of the condition of the nation during the first year of King George, and while the Rebellion of 1715 was in projection. The chief features of the case are these. In England, the common people were rising in frequent and formidable riots, inspired with an insane fear for the safety of the national church under the new dynasty, and inclined, it would appear, to prefer the son of James the Second, as their sovereign, to the ill-titled alien who had just come among them. The gentry of the same country, who

have not been misnamed "the hereditary enemies of liberty from the time of James I.," were almost unexceptionably Jacobite, though very unwilling to hazard their estates by going into open war. On the side of the existing government, we find the trading interest, the bank, and the bulk of the Dissenters. In Scotland, the gentry every where, and the common people on the north of the Forth, were Jacobite, and inclined to fight: on the south of the Forth, with the exception of the nobility and gentry, the people were swayed by religious considerations into an attachment to the Protestant succession. In the towns, throughout nearly the whole country, but especially on the south of the Forth, a great proportion of the inhabitants were Whiggish; trade having there, as everywhere else, tended to liberalise and expand the mind. In England, it might be said that the Chevalier had the general feeling in his favour, but it was not zealous. In Scotland, he was supported by a zealous attachment, but it was not general.³

To give a similar view of the foreign and external resources of the exiled prince—He was surrounded by a set of British friends, Catholic and Protestant, generally of more zeal than ability, but who, with the recent accession of Ormond and Bolingbroke, were not by any means despicable. By the pension of about fifty thousand pounds, which, strange to say, was allowed by Britain to his mother—by large subscriptions among the Catholics throughout Europe—and by contributions from Catholic potentates, among whom the King of Spain gave no less than 400,000 crowns—he

was possessed of a store of money, amounting, according to some calculations, to above twelve millions Sterling. He expected great assistance from Louis the Fourteenth, his kinsman and friend, who, though he had just concluded a peace with Britain, was nevertheless sufficiently inclined to farther a civil war within its bosom, and whose interest it plainly was to keep a Protestant, and a sworn enemy of his own, out of the government of so important a member of the European family of nations.

With all these favouring circumstances, James was only six-and-twenty years of age, with a character which, if not very good, yet remained in a great measure to be proved.

Some men, however, are born to make, and others to mar fortune. Who could suppose that, at a crisis which seemed in every respect so favourable to his design, and when possessed of so many substantial advantages for its prosecution, this unhappy prince was almost as far from having formed a proper scheme for those who undertook to act for him, as he was on the day he was born? The reader would be surprised to learn the vague and indecisive counsels on which the insurrection of 1715 proceeded. In July, only two months before it commenced, Lord Bolingbroke, on visiting the Chevalier at Commercy, was astonished to find him in as complete ignorance as himself, with respect to the preparations which had been made for the success of his cause.⁴ It was soon after ascertained, by a memorial from the Earl of Mar, that, unless a body of twenty thousand regular forces could be landed in Britain, the English Jacobites could not rise; and that, without the Eng-

the Jacobites, the Scottish would be of little avail. This force the Chevalier knew he could not get; yet he permitted the scheme to go on.

The reader would also be surprised to learn the meanness of the agents employed in this prince's affairs. At Paris, he had a set of Irish friends, who, in the words of a writer already quoted, acted without subordination, or order, or concert. These men, mistaking encouragements to act for action, had worked up one another to believe success infallible. "Here," says Lord Bolingbroke, "care and hope sate on every busy Irish face. Those who could read and write had letters to show, and those who had not arrived at this pitch of erudition, had their secrets to whisper." "A Mrs Trant, a lady endowed with not the best possible character, was one of the chief persons in this spontaneous ministry. All the messages that were sent, all the information that was received, all the designs that were afloat, were carried from one little knot of people to another, and soon had a place in the despatches of the Earl of Stair to the government of England."⁵

Action was at length commenced in a most imprudent manner. The Scottish Jacobites had for a long time entreated the Chevalier to come over, and commence his undertaking with them; assuring him, with their proper national ardour, that the only thing required was a commencement with them. Lord Bolingbroke, in reply to one very pressing request of this nature, had written to Lord Mar that the sense of their friends was, that Scotland could do nothing without England; that England would not stir without assistance from abroad; and that no such assistance was to be ex-

pected. Yet, while Bolingbroke, and all the other friends of the cause in France, were supposing that the project was thus to be delayed, James himself had secretly given the Earl of Mar permission to erect the standard of insurrection on the mountains of Scotland.⁶ A striking omen, as a Whig of the day might have justly remarked, of the arbitrary and wilful way in which the Chevalier would probably act, in case of his being restored to the throne!

In the meantime, the Government, fully apprised by Lord Stair of what was intended, took some decisive steps for its protection. The Habeas Corpus act was suspended. An act was passed for the suppression of riots. The Dutch were requested to send over the six thousand men; whom they had lately agreed, by the treaty of guarantee, to furnish for the defence of the Protestant succession. A reward of a hundred thousand pounds was offered to any who should seize the person of the Pretender within the British dominions. The British fleet, reinforced by six thousand additional seamen, was stationed along the Channel to intercept any suspicious vessels sailing from France. Three thousand dragoons, and four thousand infantry, were added to the army. The half-pay officers were dispersed throughout the country, to discipline and encourage the bodies of militia which were everywhere beginning to form. All Papists were ordered to depart from London and Westminster, and not to come within ten miles of these cities. The severe laws already existing against people of this persuasion, were ordered to be put in full force throughout the country. And the King was empowered, by an act

passed on the 30th of August, to summon all the Scottish chiefs and gentlemen whom he suspected, to Edinburgh, there to give caution for their fidelity.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSURRECTION.

Were ye wi' me to chase the rae,
Out ower the hills and far away,
And saw the Lords were there that day,
To bring the Stuarts back again.

Jacobite Song.

THE Earl of Mar thought proper to mark the commencement of his undertaking by a singular, but most characteristic act of duplicity. On the 1st of August, the day before he was to set out for Scotland, he attended to pay his compliments to King George, against whom he was so soon to declare war. Whether he was urged to do this by a desire of confounding observation, or by mere recklessness of disposition, it was certainly a singularly broad insult, as offered to a prince.

On August 2d, (1715), having first disguised himself as a private person, he embarked, with Major-General Hamilton, Colonel Hay, and two servants, at Gravesend, on board a collier, which carried him to Newcastle. From Newcastle he proceeded in a vessel belonging to one Spence, to the Firth of Forth, where, refusing to be landed on the coast of Lothian, lest he should be there recognised and seized, he went on shore at Ely, a

little port near what is called the East Neuk, or point of Fife.

In Fife he had many political friends. The gentlemen of this district, remarkable in the preceding age for their Whiggery, were now almost all Jacobites: the son, for instance, of Hackston of Rathillet, who was executed for the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, was so violent a friend to the Stuarts as to appear in the insurrection about to ensue. Mar was met at Crail by Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, and by other friends, with whom he proceeded to the house of John Bethune of Balfour, a good Jacobite, known by the name of "the Honest Laird," and who was married to a daughter of General Hamilton. During his stay in Fife, some gentlemen complained to him that the government was about to deprive them of their arms; on which he advised them to gather in a body, and make open show of resistance; so lightly did he venture in this affair, and so far was he from the caution and prudence which such an enterprise required. From Fife he proceeded to Dupplin, in Perthshire, the seat of his brother-in-law the Earl of Kinnoul, where he stayed on Wednesday the 17th of August. Next day, he passed the Tay, about two miles below Perth, with a train of forty horse. On Saturday, the 20th of August, he got safe to "the Braes," as they are called, of Aberdeenshire, and took up his abode in his own seat of Kildrummy; having dispersed, by the way, letters to all the principal Jacobite chiefs, inviting them to a grand hunting-match which he was to hold on the 27th.

It had for some time past been customary for the Jacobite leaders to hold great festivals, to which

they invited all their friends, under the pretence of an ordinary entertainment, though in reality to hold solemn council on the aspect of their affairs, and to sound the affections of the common people, who were always sure to flock to such meetings in great numbers. An assemblage of this kind had been held in the preceding year at Lochmaben, under the pretext of a horse-race; on which occasion, the gentlemen present became so bold, or so drunk, as to proclaim the Chevalier openly at the Cross. Another such meeting had recently been held on the Carn of Gowrie, by Sir David Threipland of Fingask. As a hunting-match was a common affair in the Highlands, the Earl of Mar judged it most advisable to call such a meeting. It was the fitter for his purpose, that the people were always expected to appear armed at hunting-matches, and because it was customary, when the sport was over, to invite the chief persons to a feast.

That Mar had concerted all his schemes before coming to Scotland, was evident from a certain circumstance. His friends at Edinburgh were apprised of it so early as the 6th of August, two days before he landed. On Tuesday the 7th, the Honourable John Dalrymple, a half-pay officer, who had resigned his commission with the expectation of joining his Lordship, set out to give the alarm to his brother the Earl of Carnwath, who then resided at Elliock; and information was thence communicated to the Viscount of Kenmore and other Galloway Jacobites; all of whom, having first arranged their affairs, repaired to Lothian, giving out, as they went, that they were going to hunt in the

North. They could not have made this profession without knowing the Earl of Mar's intentions.

The hunting-match took place according to appointment. It was attended by the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow; the Viscounts of Kilsyth, Kenmore, Kingston, and Stormont; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie; besides twenty-six gentlemen, among whom were Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Campbell of Glendaruel (representing the aged Earl of Breadalbane), the Chief of Glengarry (acting for some of the Highland clans), and the Lairds of Auchterhouse and Auldbair.

The whole being at length gathered together at Aboyne, the Earl of Mar addressed them in a set speech, which he seems to have carefully prepared. In the first place, he expressed, in the most emphatic terms, his sorrow for having taken so conspicuous a part in the business of the Union. His eyes, he said, were now opened, and he was resolved to do all that lay in his power to restore Scotland to the condition in which it had been before that accursed treaty. He was urged the more powerfully to this, by the additional mischief which had recently been brought upon the country by the Elector of Hanover. That prince, since the commencement of his usurpation a twelvemonth ago, had plainly shown, by his giving up the government to an infamous cabal, and by all his proceedings, that he designed to de-

prive the nation of its liberties. He had resolved, for his own part, to arm all his tenants and friends, and devote himself to the protection of his country. He did not require, however, to do any thing rashly. There were thousands of individuals throughout Scotland and England, determined, as he could show by their letters, to give him their support, or to act in concert with him. He was also assured of assistance from France, where his sovereign, in whose cause he was to act, had already received large supplies, and promises of more, all of which should be sent, as soon as convenient ports for their landing should be pointed out. That sovereign had himself promised, by letters under his own hand, to come over, and trust his person to the fidelity and valour of the Scottish nation, so soon as a commencement should fairly be given to the undertaking. He had, in the mean time, been pleased to appoint him (the Earl of Mar) Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-chief of all his forces in Scotland; and had supplied him with money sufficient to subsist not only his own vassals, but also those of other gentlemen who might join him, so that no individual in the country would be required to contribute any thing else to this enterprise than his personal assistance and good will. Every thing considered, he could not entertain a doubt that all who heard him would immediately enter into an undertaking, which promised at once the restoration of their natural sovereign to his rights, and of their country to its lost honour and prosperity.

He then showed them the instructions which he had received from the Chevalier to raise the friends of the cause at this time. According to one au-

thority,¹ he displayed at the same time a forged commission of generalship, which he said he had received from the same individual. It was determined that all should immediately return to their estates, and raise their men, some to join the Earl of Mar in his proposed descent upon the Lowlands, and others to co-operate at more distant parts of the country. The Marquis of Huntly promised to bring out the whole of his father's immense *following* or vassalage, provided that he should be allowed his own time. All present took an oath to be faithful to each other, and to the Earl of Mar as the King's Lieutenant, in the enterprise about to ensue. The Earl gave each of them, before his departure, a parcel of the Chevalier's manifestoes, which they undertook to distribute. For some time afterwards, these documents were frequently found, in the morning, on the streets of towns throughout Scotland, having been dropt there by the Jacobites during the night.

One of the steps taken by the Government to prevent insurrection, had at this juncture a particularly fatal effect. The act enabling the King to summon a certain number of suspected persons to Edinburgh, there to give security for their good behaviour, was passed on the 30th of August, and was immediately put in force by the Scottish Lord Advocate. I have at this moment before me the summons sent by this official to the Earl of Carnwath, warning him to appear in terms of the act, under the penalty of single or liferent escheat, besides one year's imprisonment, and a fine of five hundred pounds. The persons so summoned were as follow: The Earls of Seaforth, Winton, Carnwath, Southesk, Nithisdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Kin-

and, Panmure, Marischal, and Breadalbane; the Marquis of Huntly, the Lords Glenorchy, Drummond, and Ogilvie (eldest sons of Peers); the Viscounts of Kingston, Kenmure, Stormont, and Kilsyth; Lords Rollo and Nairn; the Masters of Stormont and Nairn; Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochneil, Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, Sir Donald Macdonald, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stewart of Appin, John Campbell of Auchalader, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, William Murray of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robertson of Struan, the Laird (Chief) of MacKinnon, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, William Drummond, servant to Lord Drummond, Mr Seton of Teuch, Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lochiel, Robert Roy, *alias* MacGregor, Stewart of Ardschiel, Mr Francis Stewart, brother to the Earl of Moray, John Cameron of Lochiel younger, the Lairds of Clanranald, Glengarry, and Keppoch, Mr John Fullarton of Greenhall, elder, MacIntosh younger of Bortum, James Malcolm, Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, Mr Henry Maule, brother to the Earl of Panmure, Walkinshaw of Barrafield, Colin Campbell of Glendaruel, Sir John MacLean, Graham of Bucklyvie, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, George Home of Whitfield, and Mr John Drummond, brother to Lord Drummond. To such of these persons as resided on the south side of the river Tay, seven free days were allowed for their appearance; to those residing on the north side, fifteen; and to such as happened to be abroad, sixty days were allowed. The result was, that many persons, who might have otherwise remained at home in peace, were in a manner forced to join

the Earl of Mar ; while but a very small number comparatively attended to the commands of the act, and those only such as in all probability would have remained obedient to government, whether summoned or not.

At this very moment, while every thing seemed favourable to the project, and the fiery cross was raising brave men in thousands to fight the battles of the House of Stuart, an accidental and external circumstance occurred, than which none—not the perdition of the Highland clans themselves—could have been more fatal to the enterprise. This was the death of Louis the Fourteenth, the monarch who had proved so steadfast a friend to the Stuarts through all their vicissitudes of good and bad fortune. Louis was bound up by the treaty of Utrecht to afford no assistance to the Chevalier, and the humiliated condition of his kingdom could scarcely permit him to dare a renewal of war by breaking through his engagement. But there were, nevertheless, a thousand ways in which he could befriend the exiled prince, without calling down the vengeance of Britain. Where he could not *do* much, he might have at least *permitted* a great deal. He could have been negatively, if not positively friendly. The mere idea that the enterprise was honoured by his countenance, not to speak of the real support which he seemed to be covertly extending to it, was calculated to give it additional force and vigour. So much was this the case, that the Jacobite chiefs no sooner received intelligence of his death, than, declaring that their best friend was gone, they counselled their General to abandon his undertaking for the present. The

worst feature of the case was, that the King was succeeded in his power by the Regent Duke of Orleans, his nephew, who was known to have the strongest personal reasons for ingratiating himself with the existing government of Great Britain, and who was therefore likely to do all in his power to mar the proceedings of the Chevalier. It was with much difficulty, and only by contriving to give them a different view of the politics and intentions of the Duke of Orleans, that Mar succeeded in maintaining their disposition to take the field.² Perhaps, also, some of them felt that they had now gone too far to draw back. The death of old Louis was a most unfavourable circumstance; but then, on the other hand, the threats of their own government, now reaching them in the substantial shape of the summons which has just been described, and also the reports they daily received of Jacobite gentlemen in England being seized and imprisoned without the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act, were circumstances calculated rather to edify them in their resolution than to make them give it up. The only thing which seemed indispensable to their enterprise was, that the Chevalier should come over in person; and letters were accordingly despatched, entreating him to do so with all possible haste.

Whatever doubts might be entertained by the chiefs of the insurrection, none seem to have been felt by the Earl of Mar himself. That nobleman erected his standard on the 6th of September, at Kirkmichael, a village in Braemar; being attended at the time by only about sixty men.³ The standard, on its being erected, was consecrated by prayers.⁴ But it was remarked, that at the mo-

ment the pole was planted in the ground, the gilt ball fell from the top ; which, as in the case of the walking-cane of King Charles the First, was looked upon by the Highlanders as a bad omen.

On the 7th of September, Mar addressed a letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, informing them of his appointment to be Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland, and requiring them to raise all their retainers in arms, to be ready to march to his Majesty's standard so soon as they should receive advertisement to that effect, which they might expect very soon. They were also to secure the arms of all persons suspected of disaffection to the King ; and they were requested to prevent all plundering and free-quartering on the part of their men, under pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure. " The King," so concludes the letter, " makes no doubt of your zeal for his service, especially at this juncture when his cause is so deeply concerned, and the relieving of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke, too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and when now is the time to endeavour the restoring, not only our rightful and native King, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations." 6

On the day following, he issued what he called a Declaration, very nearly resembling this letter in substance, but having a general application. It was headed with the following pompous sentence : " Our rightful and natural King, James the Eighth, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his af-

fairs, and the command of his forces, in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland ;” and it was distinguished throughout by a magniloquence of expression perfectly appropriate to the character he affected to bear as the representative of his Majesty. It will amuse the reader to find him, on the night of that very day, writing to the Bailie of his lordship of Kildrummy, in the following familiar terms :

“ Invercauld ; September 9, at night, 1715.

“ JOCKE,—Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country’s account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years ? And now, when it is come, and the king and country’s cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish ? I have used gentle means too long, and so shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals ; if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends ; and, if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (though I were willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me ; and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being

so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them: And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

"Your assured friend and servant,
MAR."

"*To John Forbes of Inverawe,
Baillie of Kildrummy.*"

This letter, however, will supply the reader with deeper matter of reflection than merely the dignity and the vulgarity which may co-exist in the same character. He must observe with pain the absolute power which a Scottish landlord then possessed over the persons—over the very minds of his tenants. The obligation of landlord and tenant is properly a mere matter of commerce; and the one should be no more subservient to the other, than a retail trader is to a wholesale merchant. Yet, here, from the relics of the feudal system still clinging to Scotland, we find a proprietor threatening to destroy the goods of his tenants, without mercy or reserve, in case that they shall refuse to obey his high behest, by hazarding their persons in a contest, about the object of which they were perhaps indifferent. It is also worth while to remark, the strange-

ly inconsistent characters which were associated in this imperious person. The man who, in the cities of the plain, could act the polished courtier to admiration, who had just been performing the lofty duties of a British Secretary of State, and who, no doubt, appeared in that station as every thing that a modern gentleman and statesman could be expected to be, is here seen in the character of a barbarous Highland chief, exercising a sway over his vassals as absolute as that of a Norman baron of the tenth century, and quite oblivious, to all appearance, of the rules and sentiments which dictated his conduct in another character. In one and the same month, this man could administer the freedom of the British constitution in Whitehall, and put the feudal law in force against the miserable inhabitants of a Highland barony—could be the protector of the rights of three great nations, and the tyrant of a few farms. The mock king who parades the streets, in gilt tin and tinsel, on the 25th of October, is surely not more different from the sleek and decent tradesman into which he shrinks next day, than is the Earl of Mar as he was in 1714, and the Earl of Mar as he was in 1715—as he was at London, and is at Braemar. Yet the Earl of Mar was only acting, in both characters, as circumstances dictated. One end of the kingdom was then at the height of civilization, another at the extreme of rudeness : he had an interest at both ends ; and it was necessary that he should have a different mode of conduct, almost a different theory of moral sentiment for each. It was place, and not time, which made the difference. And it is not to be supposed that he had more difficulty in shifting the character of the refined statesman, for that of

the savage chief, than he could have had in exchanging his velvet court-dress and small sword, for the kilt and dirk.

It may be proper to conclude this chapter with the manifesto which Mar and his adherents published at this time. It is a document valuable in many respects, but chiefly so as giving a very fair view of the sentiments and objects with which the Jacobite faction in Scotland entered upon this civil war.

“ Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time, in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful Sovereign, James the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

“ His Majesty's right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrevoked laws of the land, we are bound to pay his Majesty the duty of loyal subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful King; the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests; and his Majesty, giving up himself to the support of his *Protestant* subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and

sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction ; while, in searching out new expedients, pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy Union, which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his Majesty's subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears, by experience, so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them ; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope, that the party who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will, at any time, endeavour to work our relief ; since it's known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the Union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity, so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments,

are now treated as of no value or force ; and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our sovereign, by promising a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy *Patriots of England*, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace, to these nations.

“ They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries, by which the liberty of our persons was secured ; they have empowered a foreign prince (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language), to make an absolute conquest (if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary force at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of it's being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinemen, friends, and fellow-subjects, of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives and children, or give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed at the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad,

notwithstanding their long and remarkably good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland ; and it's not now the officer's long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour, by which they can obtain justice in their preferments ; so that it's evident, the safety of his Majesty's person, and the independency of his kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

“ The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his Majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means of putting an end to so dreadful a prospect as by our present situation we have before our eyes. With faithful hearts, true to our rightful king, our country, and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect (as his Majesty commands) the assistance of all our true fellow-subjects to second our attempt ; declaring hereby our sincere intentions that we will promote and concur in all lawful means, for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native-born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur, and endeavour to have our laws, liberties and properties, secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms, that by the wisdom of such parliaments, we

will endeavour to have such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the *Protestant* religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, *Popery*, and all its other enemies.

“Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellence of his Majesty’s judgment, as not to hope that, in due time, good example, and conversation with our learned divines, will remove those prejudices which we know his education in a Popish country has not riveted in his own discerning mind ; and we are sure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so, the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the King is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow-subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us, in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually and establish a right, firm, and lasting union betwixt his Majesty’s ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of the kingdom of England.

“The peace of these nations being thus settled, and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons ; and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve

us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage, that every officer who joins with us in our king and country's cause, shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he brings off with him to us: and each foot-soldier so joining us shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon who brings his horse and accoutrements along with him, twelve pounds sterling gratuity money, besides their pay. And, in general, we shall concur with all our fellow-subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home and be formidable abroad under our rightful sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a *pretender's* interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, and just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of Stuarts, and our country from sinking under oppression."

CHAPTER III.

MAR'S DESCENT UPON THE LOWLANDS, AND
COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSURRECTION
IN ENGLAND.

— Buckingham, backed with the hardy Welshmen,
is in the field, and still his power increaseth.

Richard III.

WHILE the Earl of Mar was still lingering on the hills of Aberdeenshire, his friends at Edinburgh were defeated in a scheme, the success of which would have been of infinite importance to their cause. About eighty persons, chiefly Highlanders, and at the head of whom was Lord Drummond, a Catholic, had formed a plan for surprising the Castle of Edinburgh. Having gained over four soldiers in the garrison by dint of liberal promises, this party resolved, on the 9th of September, at nine o'clock at night, to scale the rock on which the Castle is built, at a place on the north side, near the Sally Port, where it is less precipitous and lofty than elsewhere. They had formed lad-

ders of a peculiar construction, calculated to admit of four men at once, and which, being pulled up by one of the corrupted soldiers, were to be fastened to a strong stake within the wall. To have won Edinburgh Castle at the present juncture, would have been next thing to reducing the whole kingdom under the power of the Chevalier. In this fortress lay nearly all the stores upon which the government could calculate for arming their friends against the insurgents. It also contained an immense sum of money—upwards of a hundred thousand pounds, which had been sent down to Scotland at the time of the Union, as an equivalent or compensation for the distress which a full participation of the English taxes was expected to bring upon the poorer country. The very eclat of the thing would have been as good to the Earl of Mar as a victory won in a stricken field. He had concerted that, when the conspirators got possession, they should fire three cannon; which, being heard in Fife, should be a signal to some men there stationed, to light beacons on the tops of the hills; which beacons, being continued northward from hill to hill, should apprise him with telegraphic despatch; so that he could immediately follow up the triumph by pushing forward to Edinburgh, and completing the subjugation of Scotland.

This scheme, in every respect so well contrived, and calculated to be of such service to the cause of the insurgents, is said to have been marred by a circumstance almost as trivial as that which disarranged the conspiracy of Catiline. One of the principal Jacobites concerned, a Mr Arthur, had communicated the whole secret to his brother Dr

Arthur, a physician in Edinburgh. This Dr Arthur had only of late become a Jacobite; consequently, although his brother's object in informing him was no doubt to draw him into the scheme, he did not contemplate the enterprise with the same joyful hope which was felt by the rest. On the contrary, during the whole day previous to the appointed evening, he felt his mind depressed; nor could he conceal that he was suffering under some unusual anxiety. His wife, observing his melancholy, importuned him to disclose its cause; and he was at length weak enough to gratify her curiosity. She immediately, without his knowledge, despatched an anonymous letter to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, informing him of the design. Lord Ormiston, than whom a more zealous Whig never lived, lost no time in sending an express, with the same information, to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, the Deputy-governor of the Castle. It was ten o'clock at night when Mrs Arthur's letter reached the Lord Justice-Clerk, and eleven ere his Lordship's express reached the Castle; but, fortunately for the interests of the House of Hanover, the conspirators were fond, like all good Jacobites, of brandy and claret. They had lingered at a tavern till it was two hours past the time appointed. Ere they reached the bottom of the rock, with their apparatus, the Deputy-Governor had received the information of the Lord Justice-Clerk. Still, perhaps, had they been as expeditious as they ought to have been, their enterprise might have been successful. Colonel Stuart was either so well inclined to their scheme, or was so imperfectly informed by the express, that he found himself only

called upon to order his officers to double their guards and make diligent rounds ; after which he went to bed. Unfortunately, they lingered so so long that, just as the four sentinels were pulling up their ladders, the hour for the change of guard arrived, and one Lieutenant Lindsay, leading out the fresh sentries from the sally-port, came upon them at the very last moment when they could have been successful. One of the guilty sentinels immediately fired his piece, and called to those below that the whole plot was ruined ; his companions at the same time let go the ropes. The whole assembled band of conspirators instantly dispersed, some of them falling down the precipices in such a way as to be seriously hurt. At that moment, a party of the City guard, which the Lord Justice-Clerk had urged the Lord Provost to get under arms for the purpose, sallied from the West Port of the city, and exerted themselves to seize the fugitives. They only succeeded in taking four persons ; one Captain MacLean, a veteran Cavalier who had fought at Killiecranky ; a gentleman of the name of Lesly, who had been page to the nottedly Jacobite Dutchess of Gordon ; and Messrs Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh. Thus miserably ended an enterprise, which, if executed with promptitude and care, equal to the skill with which it was projected, might have given a very different turn to the course of this little narrative.

The discovery of this plot gave great alarm to the Government, and caused its members to take still more serious measures than before for the prevention of the insurrection. All suspected persons were now unscrupulously apprehended. At Edin-

burgh, the Earls of Hume, Wigton, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, (son of the Earl of Findlater), and Messrs Lockhart of Carnwath and Hume of Whitfield, were committed prisoners to the Castle. Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, and Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, who surrendered themselves in terms of the late act, were also put into prison. General Whitham, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland, was ordered to march with all the regular troops that could be spared, to form a camp in Stirling Park, so as to secure the bridge over the Forth. Immediately after, he was superseded by the Duke of Argyle, who was expected, from his superior acquaintance with the country, and his immense territorial influence, to be a better commander. That officer arrived in Scotland about the middle of September, and lost no time in putting himself at the head of the little army which Whitham had collected. The Earl of Sutherland, a nobleman zealously attached to the Protestant succession, was, at the same time, despatched to the extreme north of Scotland, with a commission to raise his vassals, as well as all the other clans which might be favourably disposed to the Government, and to employ them as a check upon the disaffected in that quarter.

At the first intelligence of the insurrection in Scotland, the Court of St James's had formed the idea that it was only designed as a stratagem to draw the King's forces northward, so as to permit the English Jacobites to rise and seize the capital and seat of government. They accordingly did not send any troops to Scotland; they rather sent such regiments as they had to the disaffected districts in the West and South-west of England, where the

symptoms of an intended eruption were most violent. Thus, the whole army which the Duke of Argyle found to command, consisted in four foot regiments, or little more than a thousand men, with about five hundred dragoons. Orders, however, were now issued for reinforcing his Grace by the Earl of Stair's regiment of Scots Grays, and two foot-regiments, which lay in the north of England, as well as by a similar force from Ireland ; in which kingdom there did not appear the least intention of disturbing the new government. To increase the regular forces, a number of loyal burghs and noblemen in the south and west of Scotland now busied themselves zealously in raising little corps of militia.

In the mean time, the Earl of Mar and his friends were by no means inactive. The clan MacIntosh was the first to rise. Under the command of Brigadier MacIntosh of Borlum, uncle to the chief (who was a minor), this very brave clan mustered, early in September, to the number of five hundred, and, marching with banners displayed to Inverness, seized that important post, which was without a garrison. Leaving a strong party there, the Brigadier soon after marched southwards to join the Earl of Mar. About the same time, a party of MacLeans, MacDonalds, and Camerons, made an attempt on Fort William, and succeeded so far as to take two redoubts or spurs, with a considerable number of men in each, though they were obliged to abandon the main design for want of cannon. In the Lowland districts of Angus and Aberdeenshire, various noblemen and gentlemen were exerting themselves in favour of the Chevalier. He was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal, at

Castle Gordon by the Marquis of Huntly, at Brechin by the Earl of Panmure, and at Dundee by Mr Graham of Duntroon, brother to the late Viscount of Dundee.

Mar had succeeded in gathering a considerable number of men before the middle of September; when he at length thought it necessary to descend into Athole. At Moulinearn, a little village near the Pass of Killiecranky, he proclaimed the Chevalier. Here learning that the Earl of Rothes was advancing with five hundred of his Fife vassals and friends, to seize Perth, he gave orders to Colonel John Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, to fall into that town with a party of two hundred horse; which enterprise Colonel Hay performed with promptitude and perfect success, on the 14th of September; the Earl of Rothes retiring when he learned that the place was prepossessed. The seizure of Perth gave the insurgents much *eclat*, and laid all Scotland north of the Forth under their control. Mar made Colonel Hay governor of the town, by commission dated September 18th.²

In a letter which the Earl wrote to Hay on the 19th (from Moulinearn), he commands that the town should be defended with the utmost obstinacy, in case of the Duke of Argyle advancing against it from Stirling. He also orders him to tender the oath of allegiance to the people of the town, and to make them renounce all subjection to any other prince or power than James the Eighth. "Such as refuse to comply with this," continues the insurgent General, "you are to turn them out of the town, and immediately after to order a free election of magistrates by poll." The Governor is also desired, by this letter, to break open all letters

which come through Perth, and to appoint a new postmaster. ³

The reason why Mar thus lingered at Moulin-earn seems to have been, that he expected to be there immediately joined by the Athole clans. In a letter to Governor Hay, dated September 20th, he complains that almost every body had disappointed him, so that he was as yet unable to descend upon the Lowlands. "They are now coming, however," he says, "and this week we shall be a considerable army, and much superior to any which the enemy can bring against us." He hopes also that the Western clans are by this time marching through Argyleshire towards Glasgow, and will soon make the West-country militia as little sure to the army at Stirling, as he hopes some of their other troops are.

In a letter of the same date, but written at twelve o'clock at night, Mar answers one which Colonel Hay had written on the preceding day, and which he had just received. The Colonel had informed him of a report that the Duke of Argyle was designing to offer him terms of submission. Mar answers, "I believe there's nothing in it; no such message has come to me, nor do I believe there will. Perhaps, he might have had some instructions when he came from London;" [the Duke had kissed the King's hand and left London on the 9th;] "but, now that they know we are actually in arms, and our manifesto published, they will think, I believe, that any thing of the kind comes too late. If any such message comes to me, it shall be made no secret; but it is impossible for any of us now to have such thoughts, and he's an ill man that would. I can answer for one, and I

hope for a great many more. What can they offer us in lew [*lieu*] of all that's dear to mankind, which I take to be the case with us. I hope ere long we will have another kind of message from that Duke and his folks—to ask terms for themselves. This you may tell to all the world, and show my name to it." Surely this strain will remind the reader quite as much of the disappointed statesman as of the determined general.

Before the 22d, Mar had sent a party of Robertsons, under their chief Alexander Robertson of Struan, to reinforce Colonel Hay. On that day, he writes thus: "You must take care to please the *Elector of Strouan*, as they call him. He is an old Colonel; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he'll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon; but I have sent some of the little I have—fifty guineas, by the bearer." 6

On coming into Athole, Mar had nearly a thousand men under his banner. He had, in the first place, about five hundred of his own vassals on foot. Then there were three hundred well mounted cavaliers or private gentlemen, in two squadrons, one under Lord Drummond, the other under the Earl of Linlithgow. Besides these, he had many straggling volunteers. He no sooner appeared in Athole than he was joined by five hundred Highlanders, under the Marquis of Tullibardine. In the course of a few days, he received so many other accessions of force, that on the 20th he was calculated to have fifteen hundred foot and a thousand horse.

While at Moulin, he was joined by an adherent of somewhat extraordinary character, the veteran Earl of Breadalbane. This strange person, who had been reserved, through all the difficulties of the last seventy years, to stumble at length on the insurrection of 1715, was among those suspected individuals whom the government had thought proper to summon. To excuse himself from attending to the call, he caused a physician from Perth, and the minister of his own parish of Kenmore, to make out an affidavit, attesting that he was possessed by all the ills and infirmities which old age is subject to; that he was troubled with coughs, rheums, and defluxions; was possessed by gravel and *stitches*; had dreadful pains in his back and kidneys; and was altogether so ill that he could not be removed to Edinburgh without danger to his life. Yet, all the maladies under which he laboured, did not prevent the crafty old Earl from passing down to join the Earl of Mar at Logierait, on the very day subsequent to the date of that affidavit.⁷

Mar did not march to Perth till the 28th, when, it is supposed, his forces amounted very nearly to five thousand. On the same day that he entered the town, he received letters of the most agreeable nature from the Chevalier. They were brought to him by the Honourable James Murray (second son to the Viscount of Stormont), who had gone over to the mock court at Commercy in the preceding April, and was now appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. This gentleman had landed at Dover, passed safe through a country where every suspected person was apprehended, spent three days amidst his friends at Edinburgh, and finally

crossed the Forth in a boat from Newhaven, bearing, all the way, letters of the utmost importance to the insurgents, and which, if found upon his person, might have caused him to be tried for high treason. According to the intelligence conveyed by Mr Murray, the Chevalier was on the point of sending off no fewer than twelve large ships, full of stores, arms, ammunition, and officers, for their assistance, and was himself determined to follow almost immediately.

In this posture, the insurgent general had a prodigious advantage over his opponent. Argyle had come down to Scotland without bringing a single regiment with him, or even a piece of artillery. He found the city of Edinburgh, and all the well-affected gentry of the Low countries, in the utmost consternation, regarding the alarming progress made by the Highlanders. With fifteen hundred men, and no immediate prospect of more, he had been obliged to take up his position beneath the walls of a fortress, from whence he could not stir a step with safety; and as the Jacobites were threatening Glasgow, Dumfries, and other towns on his flank and rear, he was in the greatest danger of being completely surrounded by enemies. Nor could he derive any assistance from his own clan. They were kept at home by the fear of having their lands destroyed in their absence by the disaffected tribes around them.

The Earl of Mar, on the other hand, had an army of more than double the number, and that composed, perhaps, of equally good, if not better men. He possessed the whole country from Fife to Inverness; in other words, seven or eight counties, for the supply of provisions and recruits, and

upwards of two hundred miles of sea-shore, for the landing of auxiliaries and ammunition from abroad.

It is strange to observe, that, with all this superiority, Mar hesitated to come to an action with Argyle. To have done so was evidently his proper play. It was not likely, that Argyle's force would ever be smaller than now: his own was already more than a match for it. If he could not force a passage over the bridge of Stirling, he might have crossed the Forth at some ford nearer its head, and by that means outflanked the royalist general. But it seems to have been Mar's impression, whether the result of timid counsels or real inability, that nothing could be done against the Duke of Argyle, without an immense superiority of men and a complication of stratagems. He esteemed it necessary, that, while he advanced in front, with an overpowering army, other two generals should assail him in flank and rear, so as to put victory out of the question. All this was very unfortunate; for, if it was the advantage of any party to remain quiet, it surely was that of the royalists. Francis Sforza and Louis the Eleventh have alike sanctioned the maxim, that, when a prince is attacked by a confederacy of his subjects, the best policy he can pursue is to avoid a battle, and let his enemies waste themselves in disputes and idle jealousies. What made it still more particularly the interest of the insurgent General to fight was, that his men were eager to the last degree for battle. The Highlander, when once on the field, knows no other tactics than to fight. At all the councils, the cry of the Northern chiefs was invariably for battle. There was danger, if

battle was not immediately given them, that they would disperse or lose the fire-edge of their spirit. Besides, there was a sort of necessity on their part for some action of decided brilliancy, to strike the key-note, as it were, to the English Jacobites. Mar believed it necessary, that all men should be up before he struck a blow ; but he should have struck the blow, that they might be induced to rise.

Yet some of the first movements of the insurgents showed vigour and address. They performed, for instance, one very dexterous enterprise against a vessel on the Frith of Forth. The Earl of Sutherland, it will be recollected, had gone North, to raise the loyalists of the country beyond Inverness. About the end of September, a vessel was freighted at Leith, with nearly four hundred stands of small arms, for the use of the recruits who might be raised by this nobleman. After standing out to sea, a north-east gale began to blow, and compelled the master of the vessel to take shelter under the Fife coast, near Burntisland. As that was the port to which the vessel belonged, and the place where the master usually resided, he thought there could be no harm in his going ashore, during the continuance of the gale, to see his wife and family. Mar learned at Perth the condition of the vessel, and the supine conduct of the skipper ; and he determined to make a dash at the arms which were on board. On the evening of the 2d of October, he detached a party of five hundred horse, with each an additional man behind the rider, under the command of the Master of Sinclair. They arrived at Burntisland about mid-

night, and immediately, to prevent intelligence of their arrival from being sent off to the vessel, possessed themselves of all the boats in the harbour. At the same time, the horse surrounded the town, to intercept any messenger who might be sent to alarm the adjacent sea-ports. A hundred and twenty select men were then sent off in boats to the vessel, which they found no difficulty in seizing. They at first attempted to bring her into the harbour; but, the wind not serving, they were obliged to drop anchor, and land the arms in boats. Carts were immediately pressed from the country round; and before the morning was far advanced, the whole booty was on its way to Perth. The Duke of Argyle soon learned what had taken place, and made an attempt to intercept the retiring insurgents. But the Earl of Mar succeeded in checking the advance of his Grace's party, by affecting a design of advancing with his whole army to Alva, for the purpose of coming to an action. The consequence was, that the arms were brought safe to Perth, where the exploit was hailed no less as affording a good supply for the unarmed Highlanders, than as partially disabling a powerful enemy, who threatened to do much mischief to their friends in the North. The whole transaction was favourable, in every respect, and in the highest degree, to the insurgents; for it gave a kind of lustre to their arms which they much wanted, and filled their opponents with no little alarm. The Earl of Mar now found it possible to take under his control the whole of the wealthy little sea-port towns with which the coast of Fife is so thickly studded, and to plant garrisons in Burntisland and Falkland. Under favour of this arrangement, a

French vessel soon after entered the Firth of Forth with stores for the army, and, being chased by the English men of war, found refuge in Burntisland harbour.

As the proceedings of the Earl of Mar, subsequent to this period, were influenced considerably by the insurrections which were now taking place in the south of Scotland and north of England, it will be necessary here to advert to these matters.

The dispersion of the forces over the disaffected districts of England had been attended with complete success in preventing the outburst of a general insurrection. Supplied with an excuse for keeping quiet, which seems to have been by no means unpalatable to them, the greater part of the English Jacobites sunk coolly upon their oars, and contented themselves with witnessing the exertions of their more fiery compatriots in the North. In one county alone, that of Northumberland, where a predominancy of Catholicism gave unusual spirit to the party, did the expected flame burst out. Even there, it seems to have been only in consequence of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, that an appearance was made on the field. Among those whom the Government resolved to apprehend, were Mr Forster, member of parliament for the county, and the Earl of Derwentwater, a young Catholic nobleman, who, partly from religious principle, and partly from the circumstance of his being son of one of Charles the Second's natural daughters, was inspired with an uncommonly large portion of the Jacobite spirit. These two individuals, on learning that a messenger was come to Durham to seize them, suddenly

resolved to take what they conceived the lesser peril of appearing in open rebellion.

By an appointment with their friends, they rendezvoused at a place called Greenrig, on Thursday the 6th of October ; when at once they found themselves attended by sixty horsemen, chiefly gentlemen and their servants. Having consulted as to their future movements, they marched, first to a place called Plainfield on the river Cocquit, and afterwards to Rothbury, a small market town, where they quartered for the night.

Next morning, Friday, October 7th, they proceeded to Warkworth, where, on Saturday, they were joined by Lord Widdrington, with thirty horse. Mr Forster was now constituted their General, not because he was the man of highest rank or greatest influence, nor for any other reason of merit, but merely because he was a Protestant ; it being judged inexpedient to have a Catholic at the head of the enterprise, seeing that it would give countenance to the prejudices of the common people against them. On Sunday morning, Mr Forster sent Mr Buxton, his chaplain, to the minister of the parish, with orders that he should pray for King James the Third and Eighth by name, and that, in the litany, he should introduce the names of Mary, the Queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family, but omit the names of King George and his family. The parson more prudently quitted his charge altogether, and took refuge in Newcastle ; on which Mr Buxton took possession of his church, and performed service.

This little party being reinforced, on Monday, by forty horse from the Scottish Border, Mr Forster,

in disguise, proclaimed the Chevalier, with sound of trumpet, and all other formalities which the circumstances of the place would admit. He left Warkworth on the 14th, and marched to Alnwick, where they renewed their proclamation, and received some more friends. Proceeding next to Morpeth, they were joined at Felton Bridge by seventy additional horse from the Scottish Border, so that they now amounted to three hundred. They had had, by the way, many offers of service from the country people; but were obliged to decline them, on account of their want of arms.

It is one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the insurrection of 1715, that, while the general proceedings were, to the last degree, indecisive and paltry, some particular individuals exerted themselves with wonderful energy and success. Among other little brilliant episodes, diverging from the sombre epic of its general history, that of the capture of Holy Island, by a Newcastle skipper, of the name of Launcelot Errington, deserves particular notice. The small fort of Holy Island was then kept by a party of soldiers, who were exchanged once a week from the garrison of Berwick. It was of little importance to the Government; but the insurgents supposed it might have been of considerable service to them, as affording a station for making signals to such French vessels as might be designing for their coast with the expected supplies. Accordingly, Errington, having got a few Jacobite friends on board his little vessel, sailed, on the 10th of October, to make an attempt upon it. It appears that he was in the habit of sailing up to the port, with provisions for the supply of the garrison. Of

course, his appearance on the present occasion excited no suspicion among the soldiers. He was admitted, as usual, into the port near the castle; and subsequently, while part of the garrison were visiting his ship, he was allowed to enter the castle itself with his party. He immediately made prize of the place, without experiencing the least resistance.

When in full possession, this brave fellow attempted by signals to apprise the main body of the insurgents at Warkworth, of the important service he had rendered them, and of the necessity under which he lay of having some assistance sent to him. Unfortunately, they did not perceive his signals. It was also unfortunate for him that the garrison at Berwick had got intelligence of his exploit. The very next day, a party of thirty soldiers and fifty volunteers was despatched from that place, to win back the fort. They approached the island, by the sands, when the tide was at ebb; and, as Errington was at once destitute of arms for resisting them, and of provisions for holding out a siege, he was instantly overpowered. In attempting to make his escape, he was impeded by a shot in the thigh, and, being then seized, was carried prisoner to Berwick. It is pleasant, however, to record, that he subsequently contrived to escape.

Mr Forster's little army, in the meantime, experienced a dreadful disappointment in failing to procure possession of Newcastle, which they had looked forward to as one of the principal points on which the success of their enterprise would depend. Newcastle was then a walled town, and capable of being put into a state of complete de-

fence in a few days. Many of its inhabitants were Jacobites. One of the chief coal-proprietors in the neighbourhood, Sir William Blacket, was supposed to be warmly inclined that way; and as he was known to have great influence among the keelmen, or coal-workers, who formed, by numbers, the most powerful class of its inhabitants, the insurgents entertained strong hopes of not only obtaining the town, but making it a grand stronghold for their party. There was, however, an immense proportion of well-affected citizens, who, uniting with the dissenters, contrived, in a very brief space of time, to muster seven hundred volunteers for the defence of the town. The gateways, at the same time, were all walled up with stone and lime, except one, which was planted with cannon. And, on the 9th of October, the place was put out of danger, by a reinforcement of regular troops.

When disappointed of Newcastle, the insurgents retired to Hexham, which was an advantageous post, in so far as it permitted them to keep up a communication with their friends in Lancashire. They had, a few days before, despatched a messenger to the Earl of Mar, informing him of their proceedings, and entreating him to send them a body of foot, of which kind of force they stood much in need.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION OF BRIGADIER MACINTOSH.

Borlum and his men's coming.

Jacobite Song.

It has been already mentioned, that the Earl of Mar thought a complication of stratagems necessary for the destruction of the insignificant force which opposed him at Stirling Bridge. He thought it necessary, that the Duke of Argyle should be enclosed in what he calls, in one of his letters, "a hose-net," ere any hope could be entertained of putting him down. Under this impression, he had already despatched a large party under Major-general Gordon, with orders first to garrison Inverary, for the purpose of keeping the Campbell's at home, and then to descend upon the Western counties, that he might circumvent the royal army. He also entertained a wish that the Jacobites of the South of Scotland, who, he heard, were now rising under Lords Kenmure, Carnwath, and Wintoun, should co-operate with Gordon in this manœuvre. As if even that were not enough, he now thought proper to send a party of two thousand five hundred men across the Frith of Forth, to act against

the Duke from the East, as Gordon and Kenmure were to do from the West and South. Ultimately, this last party joined the English insurgents; but, at first, it was designed for the service mentioned.

And here occurs by far the finest point in the whole history of the insurrection of 1715.

Mar fortunately selected, for the command of this party, the Brigadier MacIntosh, who has been already mentioned as the first clan-leader who raised his men in 1715. After securing his capture of Inverness, Old Borlum, as he was called from his age and his estate, had come down to join the Earl of Mar at Perth, where he arrived on the 5th of October, with nearly five hundred men. He was an officer of great experience, had served much in foreign wars, and possessed the entire confidence of his clansmen. His men, too, were decidedly the best appointed and the best disciplined of all the Highland corps. Mar, of course, valued his accession very highly. He had just, at this juncture, formed the scheme of sending a detachment across the Frith of Forth: it was obvious to him that, of all his officers, Borlum was the most eligible for the command of the party. He therefore, at once, conferred the command upon him.

A body of two thousand five hundred picked men, including the MacIntoshes, and comprising the greater part of the regiments of the Earls of Mar and Strathmore, of Lord Nairn, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logie-Drummond, was selected for this expedition. It was despatched from Perth on the 7th or 8th of October, pre-tected, on its way through Fife, by a body of horse,

under Sir John Areskine of Alva, and the Master of Sinclair. Only two thousand of these men were, in reality, designed to cross the Forth. The other five hundred were designed to act as a stalking-horse to divert the attention of the enemy. The main body took the most secret ways, along the centre and eastern division of Fife; but the smaller corps went, with ostentatious publicity, directly to Burntisland, as if they had been designed to cross at that place. The consequence was, that three English men-of-war, which lay in the Frith, came up to Burntisland, and lay to, for the purpose of intercepting them as they should come over. The more effectually to fix the commanders of these vessels in their mistake, the Burntisland party made an apparent attempt to take boat at that place, and, erecting a battery on the shore, began to fire cannon, as if for the purpose of protecting their embarkment. While the attention of the enemy was thus completely engaged, Brigadier MacIntosh was quietly putting his two thousand men on board other boats at Crail, Pittenweem, and Ely, ports twenty miles eastward, and out of sight of the ships. Next morning, the first object which the English seamen discovered, was his fleet of boats, already half-way across the estuary. They immediately raised their anchors, and attempted to give chase; but, by a chance which Borlum had well calculated, both wind and tide were against them, and they could only send off their boats in pursuit.

Forty of the insurgents were thus captured in one boat, and taken to Leith, where they were put into prison. A few other boats, containing two or three hundred men, were driven upon the

Isle of May; but the remainder, to the amount of fully sixteen hundred, got safe ashore at Gullan, Aberlady, and North Berwick. When the friends of Government learned that day what had taken place, they did not know whether to be most astonished at the daring and address displayed in the enterprise, or alarmed at the consequences with which it threatened them.

The first idea formed on the subject at Edinburgh was, that MacIntosh designed to attack the city, which was at this time quite unprepared for a siege. The provost, an exceedingly loyal man, immediately sent an express to the Duke of Argyle, entreating a small reinforcement to his civic militia. Strenuous measures were at the same time taken to barricade the gates, furbish up old cannon, and put heart into peaceably-inclined citizens. The very ministers appeared in arms. MacIntosh, who had previously entertained no design against Edinburgh, was tempted by the reports of its consternation to march against it. Such a proceeding was not authorized by his commission, and indeed Mar afterwards publicly stigmatized his doing so as "an unlucky mistake." But the opportunity and the prize were together so very tempting, that we can scarcely wonder at a soldier of Borlum's character having yielded to it.

He stopped at Haddington but one night, to proclaim the Chevalier, and refresh his men. Next morning, Friday, October 14th, he pushed rapidly towards the capital. Arriving in the evening at Jock's Lodge, within a mile of the city, he halted, to receive intelligence; when, being informed that the citizens had armed themselves in great num-

bers, and were confident in the expectation of immediate relief from the Duke of Argyle, he judged it expedient to wait a little, till he should be informed by his friends in the town how he should proceed. Turning off towards Leith, he entered that town late at night, and, throwing open the jail, took again under his charge the forty men who had been captured on the Firth by the boats of the English men-of-war. Then crossing over to North Leith, he took up his abode for the night in a citadel, which had been built there by Oliver Cromwell, and afterwards partially dismantled.

This fortification was still entire, so far as the ramparts, ditch, and other external defences were concerned. It also contained a number of small houses, which were used as bathing-quarters by the citizens of Edinburgh. It was chiefly deficient in the important requisite of gates. To make up, as well as time and circumstances would permit, for that want, MacIntosh formed barricades of old carts and other lumber, which he mixed up with stones. At the same time taking eight pieces of cannon from some vessels in the harbour, he planted two at the draw-bridge, and other six at various places around the wall. For provision, he had procured a considerable quantity of meal, flesh, brandy, and other articles, chiefly from the customhouse, which he rifled in passing. He was thus ready at an early hour next morning to stand the siege which he learned the Duke of Argyle was about to lay to his stronghold.

The Duke of Argyle arrived with his party at ten o'clock of the preceding night. On the morning of Saturday the 14th, the horse militia of the surrounding country having joined him, besides

the city guard and volunteers, he found himself attended by a force of considerably above a thousand men. In marching, however, to Leith, he did not increase this force. Short as the way was, it was long enough to give the volunteers time to ponder all the risks of their undertaking. Not at all pleased with the prospect which was before them, a great proportion silently slipped out of the ranks, and returned to their own homes. On coming with the remainder before the citadel, Argyle sent a messenger to summon the Highlanders to surrender, threatening, that if they obliged him to use force, he would give them no quarter.

The Laird of Kynnachin, (a small estate in Athole), appeared on the walls to answer the summons. As to surrendering, he said, they did not understand the word, nor, he hoped, ever would. With regard to quarter, they were determined, in case of being engaged, neither to give nor to take any. Finally, if his Grace was prepared to give an assault, they were equally prepared to receive it.

The Duke of Argyle was in reality in no condition to attack the insurgents. He had not a single cannon to reply to those which they were already making play among his horses' feet; and he calculated that, before he could advance upon their barricades, they must be able to discharge five rounds, and destroy a great portion of his army. He took a deliberate walk round the citadel, and surveyed it both on the land and the sea side. But in no way could he devise a mode of assailing it without great bloodshed, and but little chance of success. Under this emergency, it is

remarkable that his volunteers were far louder in their outcry for an attack, than the regular portion of his army. These gentlemen, to all appearance, could scarcely be persuaded to remain on their ground, but seemed ready every moment to rush forward against what they called the enemies of their civil and religious freedom. When told, however, that it was their privilege, as volunteers, to advance before the regular forces, and thus try their fortune first, they manifested, even by the allowance of an historian of their own complexion, a wonderfully ready disposition to approve of the Duke's proposals, to defer the enterprise till next day.

The Duke having accordingly retired, Borlum began to reflect seriously on his situation. He was, in the first place, acting against his orders, so that the least misfortune was likely to ruin him. Second, he had now become certain, from the reports of friends, that, situated as Edinburgh was, he had but a slender chance of taking it. It was his own chance, more immediately, to be reduced by the artillery which the Duke of Argyle was preparing to bring against him. Every thing considered, he judged it his most prudent course to resume the route from which he had diverged, by returning to East Lothian, and from thence prosecuting his intended march into the south of Scotland.

When he had formed this resolution, he sent an express across the Firth in a boat, to acquaint the Earl of Mar with his advance to Edinburgh, and his intention of again retiring. As the boat left the shore, he caused a shot to be fired after it, for the purpose of deceiving the crews of the neigh-

bouring men-of-war, who, consequently, thinking that it belonged to their friends, made no attempt to prevent it. This was at seven o'clock, while there was still daylight. At nine, when the night was completely set in, MacIntosh led his men quietly out of the fort, and, stealing along the vacant beach towards the east, passed the head of the pier, with the water reaching only to the knees of his troops. His march was completely unobserved; for, in 1715, the people were chiefly retired to rest at nine o'clock; and no spies had been planted in that unsuspected quarter. Continuing his march eastward, he reached Musselburgh before midnight. There an unfortunate accident took place. Some mounted gentlemen at the end of Musselburgh having fired upon the advancing Highlanders, they adopted the idea that all whom they met on horseback were enemies. Soon after, a gentleman who had joined them that day on horseback, Alexander Malloch of Mutrieshill,¹ happened to ride amongst the ranks of the retreating mountaineers; when, being challenged in Gaelic, and unable to answer in the same language, he was instantly shot by his own friends. The Brigadier was extremely sorry for what had taken place; but he was unable even to testify the common respect of a friend by burying the deceased. He had only time to possess himself of the money found upon the corpse—about sixty guineas—and then leave it to the enemy.

Early on Sunday the 16th, the Highlanders had taken up a strong position in Seton House, the seat of their friend the Earl of Wintoun, where a very strong garden-wall served them almost as well for a fort as the citadel they had just left. From

this place they sent out parties, which soon brought in a great quantity of provisions, without experiencing the slightest risk. Here they were also joined this day by a small parcel of their friends, who, having crossed the Frith a little further to the east, had not landed so soon, and were not able to overtake them till now.

MacIntosh at the same time received intelligence of the proceedings of the party which had been forced upon the Isle of May with the Earl of Strathmore. At first, when they had still reason to expect an attack from the crews of the men of war, this gallant little band had endeavoured to intrench themselves on the island, resolved, it appears, to hold out to the very last. Their commander, a young nobleman of singular bravery, and romantically attached to the cause in which he had embarked, thus addressed his troops in the apprehension of an assault:—"Gentlemen," said he, "we are embarked in a cause which should be dear to every Scotsman; a cause promising no less than to free us from the English bondage into which the enemies of our country have betrayed us. I hope you will exert yourselves on this occasion. For my own part, I shall make my sincerity visible, by exposing my person where the greatest danger offers itself, thinking it my glory to die in this cause." Animated by this speech, the whole party, gentlemen and privates, gave their parole of honour to stand by his lordship to the last drop of their blood. But their resolution was fortunately not put to the test; an opportunity being soon after found of getting back to Fife, from whence they speedily rejoined the Earl of Mar at his head-quarters.²

The Duke of Argyle, who, on Saturday afternoon, had made preparations to besiege the Highlanders at Leith, no sooner learned that they had gone to Seton House, than he resolved to put the same measures in force against them there. Mar, however, had by this time made a movement, which put such an attempt out of his power. Learning at once that MacIntosh had advanced to Edinburgh, and that Argyle had left Stirling with troops to succour the city, the insurgent General thought it necessary to make a feint march upon the royalist camp, for the purpose of producing a diversion in favour of his detachment. The news of his having left Perth to attack Stirling, reached Argyle during the night betwixt Sunday and Monday, accompanied by the most pressing entreaties from his lieutenant, General Whitham, that he would immediately return with the forces he had taken away. He accordingly quitted Edinburgh on Monday about noon, not only abandoning his design of assailing the insurgents at Seton, but leaving the city almost as much exposed as ever to their attack.

By going back to Stirling at the time he did, the Duke may be said to have just saved his distance. That evening, at four o'clock, Mar had arrived at Dunblane (six miles north of the royalist camp) with four thousand of his troops, as many more remaining at Auchterarder, a few miles behind. Had not the army been reinforced that night by the arrival of the Duke and his party, Mar might easily have forced the bridge next morning, and overrun the South of Scotland.

The Jacobite army was now increased to the prodigious number of about ten thousand, the Mar-

quis of Huntly having lately acceded with upwards of two thousand adherents. The forces were, as may easily be supposed, of a very motley appearance. There were country gentlemen from Angus and Aberdeenshire, riding on stout horses, with sword and pistol, each dressed in his best laced attire, and each attended by serving-men, also armed, and also on horseback. Then there were Highland gentlemen in the more picturesque garb of their country, with obeisant retinues of clansmen on foot. The mass of the army was composed of Lowland peasants, with arms slung over their plain gray clothes, and of mountaineers, almost naked, or at least wearing little more than one shirt-like garment. Two squadrons of cavalry, which Huntly had brought with him, excited, under the name of light-horse, the derision of friends and foes ; being composed of stout bulky Highlandmen, mounted on little horses, each with his petit blue bonnet on his head, a long rusty musket slung athwart his back, and not one possessed of boots or pistols, those articles so requisite to the idea of a trooper. On arriving at Dunblane, this puissant body of cavalry took two hours to dismount ; and it is the opinion of one who observed them, ³ that, if attacked by an enemy, they would have been as long before they were in readiness to receive him.

On discovering that Argyle had returned to Stirling, Mar found it necessary to march back to Perth ; for which movement he himself apologizes by saying, that the country around Dunblane was so much ravaged by the enemy, as to be unfit to support him, and that he could not well leave the North-country exposed to the vengeance of the

Earl of Sutherland, or till the Earl of Seaforth, Lochiel, and other chiefs, had joined him with the numerous bands which they had promised him. In retiring, however, he detached a party of two hundred foot, and a hundred horse, to lay the town of Dunfermline under contribution. This party proceeded by Castle Campbell, and lodged in a small village by the way. The Duke of Argyle, hearing of their movement, sent off a party of horse, under the command of Colonel Cathcart, to protect the town. At five o'clock in the morning, when the too confident insurgents were all sleeping in their beds, Cathcart's soldiers entered the village, without being discovered. Some gentlemen, who heard the noise, ran out to the street, and were immediately taken; the rest, under the impression that the whole of the Duke's army was upon them, did not dare to stir from the houses, but permitted themselves to be seized without resistance. Thus, some very important adherents were lost to the Earl of Mar; as Mr Gordon of Craig, Mr Hamilton of Gibstown in Strathbogie, Mr Murray, brother to the Laird of Abercairney, Mr Hay, son of Hay of Parbroath, and Mr Patrick Gordon, eldest son of the Laird of Abertour. Trifling as the transaction was, it is perhaps worthy of the particular attention of the reader, as showing very conspicuously, what is above all things remarkable in the history of these domestic wars, that both parties had alike the active courage necessary to make an attack, but were grievously deficient in the passive fortitude necessary for sustaining an assault, and also of that promptitude of mind which is required for suggesting a proper course of conduct, after the plans of the enemy

are developed. To lay a plot against the foe, and even to execute it with skill, seems to be a simple and a common matter with soldiers who are recently drawn from civil life; but to form what may be called the repartee to such an attack, is evidently as rare a power in troops of that kind, as the faculty of pertinent reply is remarked to be in ordinary conversation.

Meanwhile, Brigadier MacIntosh remained in Seton House, expecting every hour to be bombarded by the Duke of Argyle. Had he learned during the course of Monday, or even early on Tuesday, that the Duke had returned to Stirling, it is probable he would have made another attempt upon Edinburgh. But he seems to have been kept in ignorance of this fact, by a band of volunteer gentlemen, who, under the command of Lords Rothes and Torphichen, and assisted by a troop of Argyle's dragoons, patrolled betwixt Seton and the capital, occasionally marching up and bravading him within a mile of his place of strength. On Tuesday, ere any intelligence of the real condition of Edinburgh had yet reached him, a boat landed at the adjacent little harbour of Portseton, bringing him an answer to the message which he had despatched to the Earl of Mar from the Leith citadel. By this letter, he was commanded to proceed without further delay towards the Borders, and there form a junction with the gentlemen of the North of England and South of Scotland, who, according to Mar's intelligence, were then rising in great strength, although they had requested him to send them a supply of foot, to complete the appearance of an army.

MacIntosh accordingly set out next morning,

with his whole strength, directing his march through the lonely wastes of Lammermoor. In passing by Hermandston House, he could scarcely be prevailed upon to spare it from fire, on account of an offence which its proprietor, Doctor Sinclair, had lately committed against his party.

Early in October, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of Haddingtonshire, had given particular injunctions to his deputy-lieutenants to enforce the laws against Papists and suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and seizing their horses and arms. This order was strictly in terms of existing acts of Parliament, and moreover, was sanctioned by a late command from his Majesty. Yet it was evident, even to the generation of loyalists which lived in 1715, that a law putting so much arbitrary power into the hands of one set of country gentlemen against another, would require to be acted upon with great discretion.

In the case under notice, it seems to have been abused as a means of venting feelings of private pique and revenge. On the very day when the deputy-lieutenants of Haddingtonshire received their charge from Lord Tweeddale, two of them, Dr Sinclair of Hermandston, and Mr Hepburn of Humbie, formed the resolution of going next morning, under cover of it, and assailing a gentleman of their neighbourhood, Mr Hepburn of Keith, against whom they had a grudge. At the time they had appointed for the execution of this scheme, Dr Sinclair appeared at the rendezvous with a number of armed attendants; when, not finding his associate arrived, he proceeded forward to

Keith by himself. As he went, he enjoined his party that, in case of finding resistance, they should not fire till first the Laird of Keith should fire at them ; and, on coming near the house, he repeated these orders. Mr Hepburn of Keith, being informed that a party was at his gate commanded by Sinclair, at once understood the object of his visit, but called for a sight of the Doctor's orders. Sinclair immediately sent forward a servant, who, finding no admittance at the gate, offered the Marquis of Tweeddale's commission to Mr Hepburn at the dining-room window. The fiery Jacobite openly scouted at the commission, crying, " God damn the Marquis and the Doctor both ! " But the servant, thinking that, upon consulting with his friends within, he might agree to terms of submission, continued standing near the gate, that he might carry back a message to his master. Hepburn entertained no such intention. Animated by feelings exactly correspondent with those of Dr Sinclair, he had resolved to go out and encounter his assailants. Staying only till he and his friends had mounted their horses, he sallied suddenly from the gate, fired a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two different places, and then, advancing to Dr Sinclair, who stood near the outer gate, struck him a severe blow upon the head with his sword. His daughters, who remained within the house, were heard, at this moment, calling to one another that they should see fine sport ; the party rage of the time having entered even the breasts of the gentler part of creation. But the sport which they saw was such as to call forth very different feelings. Sinclair's men returned the assault of old Keith, by firing a volley, which laid

his younger son dead upon the ground. The distracted father, with his remaining son and friends, immediately broke away, and joined the troops of Mr Forster in the north of England.

Young Hepburn was the first man killed in the insurrectionary war of 1715, and his death excited the unbounded indignation of the Jacobites throughout the kingdom. The first impulse of Brigadier MacIntosh, on passing near the house of the gentleman blamed for the slaughter, was to burn it. He was only dissuaded from doing so at the intercession of Mr Miller of Mugdrum and Mr Menzies of Woodend, who represented to him, that raising fire at this place would be but the signal for a thousand other such acts of violence to both parties throughout the kingdom. As a less dangerous infliction, Lord Nairn caused his Highlanders to plunder the house of every thing which was of the least value, or which they could conveniently carry.

On the march of the preceding day, some of the troops had straggled or deserted; and General Wightman, whom the Duke of Argyle had left to conduct the defences of Edinburgh, coming close up behind the march of the retiring host, captured these men, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh. It should also be mentioned, that about forty of the Highlanders, who had been left in the fort at Leith, (too much intoxicated with the brandy they had procured in the customhouse to march with their companions), were seized and treated in a similar manner. About ten more, who had fallen behind, on the march to Seton, were apprehended by the volunteer corps. All these men

were kept in durance till the end of the war, and then liberated.

MacIntosh, with fourteen hundred men, continued his march next day to Dunse, where he proclaimed the Chevalier, and collected the public revenues. On the morning of Saturday the 22d, he advanced to meet the English insurgents at Kelso, which was the point of rendezvous previously fixed upon.

A party of loyal volunteers had here assembled some time before, under the command of Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, the early friend of the poet Thomson, and himself a literary man of some local eminence. But, on learning that the terrible Brigadier was coming their way, the whole band evacuated the town with the utmost precipitation, the gentlemen retiring to Edinburgh, and the common people quietly resuming their civil occupations.

The English insurgents were the first to reach the town, which they did early in Saturday afternoon. Learning there that the Highlanders were within a few miles of the place, the Scottish cavalry would not be contented with waiting upon them, but marched out to Ednam Bridge, and saluted them with expressions of compliment suitable to their high merit, conducting them afterwards to town in a sort of triumph, while the bagpipes played their most vociferous pibrochs. The two bodies thus united, amounted in all to fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse, a third of the latter division being servants. It should be mentioned, that the South-country Jacobites raised by Kenmure, Wintoun, and Carnwath, were included in this computation, they having joined Mr

Forster in England, some time before the resolution to march to Kelso was adopted.

The succeeding day was spent in appropriate religious exercises, without the least admixture of secular or military business. The troops were ordered out in the morning by Viscount Kenmare, who commanded when in Scotland; and, at the proper hour, they were marched to attend service in the magnificent abbey of David the First, then reduced to the condition of a Presbyterian parish church. The congregation was composed of Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians; but, as there were no ministers to be had, except of the second of these denominations, the English mode of service was necessarily made to serve for all. Mr Buxton, who has been already mentioned, read prayers; after which Mr Patten, chaplain to Mr Forster, preached a sermon from Deuteronomy, xxi. 17, "The right of the first-born is his." In the afternoon, an old Scottish Episcopalian clergyman of the name of Irvine, who acted as chaplain to the Earl of Carnwath, delivered a discourse, full of serious exhortations to his hearers to be steady in the cause of their legitimate sovereign; which discourse, by his own information to Mr Forster, he had preached, nearly thirty years before, to Lord Dundee and his army in the Highlands. It was remarked by a person present, that the Highlanders, on this occasion, behaved with the utmost decency while in church, uttering the responses according to the rubric with a degree of readiness, and also of solemn feeling, which might have ashamed many who pretended to higher intelligence and better breeding.

Next day, Monday, October 24th, the whole army was drawn up in the churchyard, and thence marched to the market-cross, with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing. At the cross the whole were formed into a circle, in the centre of which stood the chiefs and officers. Silence being then enjoined, and a trumpet sounded, Mr Seton of Barnes, claimant of the vacant earldom of Dunfermline, read out the proclamation of King James the Eighth. After that was concluded, he read the Earl of Mar's Manifesto, (as printed in the third section of this narrative); at the end of which, the people shouted, "No Union! No Malt-tax! No Salt-tax!" and the insurgents subsequently dispersed peaceably to their quarters.

They remained in Kelso three days, during which they seized some pieces of cannon which Sir William Bennet had brought from Hume Castle; cannon which, in former times had been employed on the walls of that ancient fortress, to annoy the English armies in their incursions into Scotland. At Kelso, as at Dunse and other places, MacIntosh appropriated all the public revenues to the use of the army. His Highlanders were, in general, civil to the country people; but they plundered the houses of several loyal gentlemen in the neighbourhood, in particular the mansions of Sir John Pringle of Stitchel, and Mr Baillie of Jerviswood. They destroyed all the corn they could find upon the estates of these gentlemen, and, among other things, carried away a prodigious load of pewter dishes, to be melted down into bullets.³

There were now two plans for the further conduct of the army. One was to march directly into England, and give battle to General Carpenter,

who, they learned, was coming towards them from Newcastle, with about nine hundred regular, but very raw troops. This was advocated chiefly by the English portion of the army. The second scheme was to follow out the design with which Mar had sent the Highlanders across the Forth, by proceeding directly upon Stirling, to break up the Duke of Argyle's camp, or at least to make a detour by the west, reduce the towns of Dumfries and Glasgow, join the insurgent clans of the West Highlands, and then attack the King's army. Either scheme was good. By beating General Carpenter, which they were almost sure to do from the paucity, rawness, and fatigue of his troops, they would have given their cause the lustre of a victory, and drawn many accessions to their force. By breaking up the Duke of Argyle's camp, which they were almost as sure to do, especially if acted up to by a co-operative movement on the part of the Earl of Mar, they would have removed what had hitherto been the only bar to the progress of the Chevalier's arms, and given him at least the undisputed possession of Scotland.

Unfortunately, the two various portions of the army split irreconcilably upon these two projects ; so that their Generals found it impossible to adopt either course. As a sort of equivocal measure, it was determined to march along the Border towards the south-west, thus neither offending the Highlanders by an advance upon England, nor the English by a direct march into Scotland. They decamped from Kelso, on Thursday the 27th of October, taking the high road to Jedburgh. The movement was an unfortunate one ; for Carpenter, next day falling into their track from the neigh-

bourhood of Yetholm, where he had cantoned all night, immediately gave them the appearance of a fugitive army. Nor can it be concealed, that they really did feel strangely alarmed at the idea of fighting the wretched handful of troops which was thus pursuing them.

The reader will perhaps find some difficulty in believing the anecdote upon which this assertion is made. In marching to Jedburgh, the horse, it must be observed, did not go with the foot; they marched on a-head at their own pace, without apparently thinking that the pedestrians required their protection: and, accordingly, they arrived at Jedburgh in one body, while their humbler companions were still two miles behind. The infantry thus exposed, were suddenly alarmed by the appearance of a body of their own men on the uplands to the right; mistaking which for the army of General Carpenter, although he was expected to advance from a directly opposite quarter, they sent an express forward to the horse, requesting them to come to their assistance. The message was delivered to Lord Kenmure, Brigadier MacIntosh, and other principal officers, as they were standing together upon the High Street of Jedburgh; but, being uttered in haste and not very coherently, it was mistaken by a gentleman present for an announcement that the Highlanders were attacked by Lord Lamley, who had lately raised a body of light horse in Northumberland, and got a commission to pursue and endeavour to suppress the insurgents. Accordingly, this person, whose imagination at once supplied him with the whole facts of a most alarming case, galloped away through the streets, crying aloud to all the parties

he met, "Mount, gentlemen, mount ! Mount for God's sake ! Lumley is upon the foot, cutting them in pieces !" An announcement so terrible, acting upon the minds of men previously excited by various apprehensions, and who could not correct their surmises by the least certain intelligence, produced, it may be supposed, no little consternation. Some of those who stood beside the general, tore off the white cockades from their hats, to make themselves appear guiltless in the eyes of those by whom they expected to be immediately taken. Others sought places of concealment throughout the town. The greater part eventually mounted their horses and marched out to join the foot ; but yet so strong was the impression that they were devoted to destruction, that many of even this more resolute band were observed *weeping like children*.

It may be remarked, in palliation of this conduct, that men should not be judged from their behaviour under too trying circumstances. It would seem to be absolutely necessary, or to be no more than fair play to soldiers of any kind, that their commanders should be perfectly confident in their intelligence of the disposition and numbers of the enemy, and that there should be a complete general assurance throughout the army of a resolution to support each other. The same men who behaved in so cowardly a manner at Jedburgh, afterwards, when better assured of each other, acted with creditable resolution at Preston.

The insurgents remained at Jedburgh two days, during which a subsidy of oatmeal was raised among the inhabitants. It being soon found that they were nearer England than General Carpenter,

and might get the start of him in marching into that country, a proposal was agitated in council to strike over the hills into North Tynedale; which scheme seemed so feasible in the eyes of the English cavaliers, that they took it upon them to dispatch a person thither,⁴ to provide quarters for the army. But, the Highlanders being still resolute in their aversion to such a movement, they were eventually obliged to march towards Hawick, a town ten miles farther to the south-west, along the Scottish side of the Border.

Here the disputes between the Low-countrymen and Highlanders became almost an open rupture. Brigadier MacIntosh had been all along an advocate for fighting General Carpenter. At Jedburgh, when requested to persuade his men to march into England, he had struck his pike into the ground, and told the Northumbrian gentry that he would not stir a step himself, nor permit his men to stir either, till he had fought the enemy. He was sure, he said, to beat the Carpenter; but, if he was to be defeated, he would rather be defeated in his own country, where he could make a much better shift with his bad fortune than in England.⁵ His men, now probably inspired with the same sentiment, came to a halt on Hawick Muir, and avowed their steady resolution to march no farther in their present route. The English horse, exasperated at their perverseness, threatened to surround them, and force them to march. But they cocked their pistols, and deliberately told their associates, that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they were determined it should be in their own country. After many high words, they at length agreed to keep by the English insurgents so long as they re-

mained in Scotland, but swore, if any movement was made towards England, they would immediately leave them.

On Sunday, the 30th of October, the whole army marched from Hawick to Langholm, apparently under a resolution to attack Dumfries, which the Scots represented to the English as likely to be an excellent rallying point for their friends, and as a capital port for receiving supplies both from abroad and from the Earl of Mar; the sea on the west side of the island being far freer of English war-vessels than the German Ocean. On their reaching Langholm, a gentleman who had lingered behind for intelligence, came up to acquaint them that he had that morning seen Carpenter's troops enter Jedburgh, and that they were so extremely jaded as to seem almost incapable of resistance. Yet, on the Viscount Kenmure representing this to a council of war, it was not found possible to come to any resolution to take advantage of it. The tamer measure of falling upon Dumfries was the utmost which the Scots could get the English to consent to.

Early in the morning of the 31st of October, a party of four hundred horse was sent forward to keep Dumfries in check till the main body should march up to attack it; and this body proceeded all the way to Blacket-ridge, while the remainder were just preparing to quit Langholm. They were met at Blacket-ridge by an express from their friends at Dumfries, informing them of an immense body of volunteers who had assembled in the town for its protection, and beseeching them not to try their teeth on so obdurate a morsel. ⁶ As they lost no time in sending back this intelligence to the gene-

rel, it was communicated to the main body of the army on a muir three miles west of Langholm, whither they had proceeded on their march to Dumfries. Immediately, the former dissension arose between the English and Scots; the first alleging that, since they could have no hopes of Dumfries, they should now determine for England, and the Highlanders as obstinately holding to their original design of co-operating with the Earl of Mar. A halt was called, and, the case being deliberated upon by all the officers, except the Earl of Wintoun and Brigadier MacIntosh, who were at some distance, it was resolved that they should invade the west of England, provided only they could obtain the consent of the two officers not present, who had always hitherto taken the lead in opposing such a measure. A gentleman was instantly despatched, to ascertain if Wintoun and MacIntosh would agree to their project. He found the Brigadier in the middle of the river Esk, in the act of stopping about three hundred of his men, who, already aware of the design of taking them into England, had commenced a retreat towards the Highlands. Borlum was now less indisposed to the counsels of the English than formerly. On the gentleman delivering his message, he cried, "Why the Devil not into England, where there is both meat, men, and money?" It would appear that this veteran, who, with all his military merit, was loudly accused of a mean desire of personal profit from his enterprise, had been gained over by the prospects held out to him by the English gentlemen, of the excellent quarters he would have in the land of the Southron. He accordingly exerted himself on the present occasion to prevail upon his men to obey the wishes

of the council. In the end, he succeeded with by far the greater part; but yet there were about five hundred, who, resisting all his arguments, marched off to the North, with their arms; being, they said, more willing to trust to the mercy of their countrymen, than to hazard the invasion of a country, where, in the event of a defeat, they would be cut in pieces or sold as slaves. It is probable that the fears of the Highlanders, on this score, arose chiefly from a recollection of the cruel fate awarded to their fathers, by the English Republic, after their defeat at Worcester.

The Earl of Wintoun was also so decidedly adverse to the plan now adopted, that he went a considerable way towards the north, with a small party over which he had influence. Being overtaken by the emissary of the council, and entreated to accede to their wishes, he stood for some time pensive and silent, apparently pondering the various chances of the two measures presented to his choice. At length, he broke out with an exclamation, which was certainly characteristic of his romantic and somewhat extravagant mind. "It shall never," he said, "be said in history, to after generations, that the Earl of Wintoun deserted King James's interest and his country's good." Then, taking himself by the two ears, he added, "You, or any man, shall have liberty to cut these out of my head, if we do not all repent it." It was afterwards remarked by all sorts of men, as a very strange thing, that this nobleman, the sanity of whose understanding lay under strong suspicions, had a far clearer view of what should, and what should not have been done on the present

occasion, than any of his numerous compeers, men who could in general acquit themselves a great deal more like men of this world than he.

It remains only to be told at this place, that the whole army, exclusive of the five hundred Highlanders who seceded, entered England that night, borne up by the expectation of copious reinforcements in the western counties through which they designed to march. The retiring Highlanders were almost all seized by the country people about the head of Clydesdale, and committed to prison. When General Carpenter learned at Jedburgh that the insurgents were gone into England, he made a hasty march over the hills into Northumberland, and, throwing himself upon Newcastle, prepared to defend that town against the attack which he now expected they would make upon it. They, however, did not make the least inclination to the east side of the island.

CHAPTER V.

THE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR.

There's some say that we wan,
Some say that they wan,
And some say that nane wan ava, man ;
There's but ae thing, I'm sure,
That, at Shirramuir,
A battle there was, that I saw, man.
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa, man.
Jacobite Song.

It is necessary, before prosecuting the adventures of the English party any further, to bring up the history of the army under the Earl of Mar to the same point.

Mar, for many reasons which to him appeared onerous, was still lingering at Perth. He had at length (about the 20th of October) been honoured by a commission of lieutenancy from the Chevalier. For some weeks he exerted himself with great vigour to lay the country under contribution ; an assessment of twenty shillings on every hundred pounds of Scots valued rent being imposed upon all landed proprietors who attended his standard, while a tax of double that amount was enforced on those who did not do so ; and the

penalty of non-payment was military execution. With the money thus raised, and the sums which he received occasionally from France, he maintained his troops at the allowance of three-pence a day to each man, with three loaves, or a quantity of oatmeal equivalent. ²

One of his chief reasons for making so long a delay at Perth, was his expectation of a co-operative attack being immediately made upon the south coast of England, by the Duke of Ormond or the Duke of Berwick; for that such an expedition was prepared, he had been repeatedly assured by his friends abroad. A miserable attempt at an invasion was really made by the Duke of Ormond; but, on landing near Plymouth, he found the English Jacobites so paralyzed by the vigorous measures of the government, that he could procure no countenance: he could not get so much as a night's lodging, in a country where he had expected to assume the command of an army. To avoid the observation of the local authorities, he was obliged to return immediately to France. He afterwards renewed his attempt, with some troops; but, fortunately perhaps for himself, was driven back on the French coast by a storm.

It seems to have been one of the grand errors of the leading Jacobites in 1715, that they depended too much upon supplies and corresponding operations from France, and too little upon the vigour of the native troops. The assistance which the Chevalier had prepared for them was no doubt immense; and perhaps the English cavaliers were not to be brought out by any other means. But the hope of conquering Britain by such uncertain and detached efforts, was, after all, little better than to seek

to reduce a fortress by shooting arrows at the loopholes. Partly by the exertions of the English fleet, partly by the interferences of the British consuls at different ports, and partly by the storms incidental to the season, a very small portion of these supplies ever reached their destination. What did arrive was not enough to compensate the tenth part of the injury done to the cause by delay. It is every thing but certain, on the other hand, that, if a vigorous dash had been made at the seat of government, by the home forces collected in the beginning of October—had a course been taken somewhat similar to what was afterwards pursued in 1745, the event, considering the condition of the country, could scarcely have failed to be favourable to the insurgents.

To have done so would have required a commander like the Viscount of Dundee, or the Duke of Berwick, or Prince Charles Stuart; and such a commander was not John Earl of Mar. This general seems to have always been more inclined to hope for better opportunities, than to take advantage of the present.

There were still two districts in Scotland, from which he expected considerable accessions of men. In what is called the North Highlands—a district comprehending the large counties of Ross and Sutherland—the Earl of Seaforth was exerting his great seigniorial influence to raise the inhabitants. It was at first believed that this nobleman would bring seven thousand men to Perth. He was only, indeed, prevented from doing so, by the Earl of Sutherland, who, putting himself at the head of the Rosses, the Menzies, and other Whig

tribes, threatened to destroy the country of Seaforth's men, whenever their backs should be turned. On this account, the number brought from the North Highlands was much smaller than what was originally expected, and, what was perhaps a still greater evil, they were a good while later in reaching the camp.

The other district from which the Earl expected great assistance was the West Highlands; which comprises Argyleshire and the western part of Inverness-shire. From the former of these counties, Mar expected to draw the MacLeans, the MacNeils, the MacDougals, the Appin Stuarts, and the Jacobite portion of the Campbells; from Inverness-shire, he expected to have the Camerons of Lochiel, and the MacDonalds of Keppoch, Clanranald, and Glengarry. Here, however, as in the North Highlands, the disaffected were apt to be kept at home by the threats of the loyal. The Duke of Argyle had caused a large parcel of his retainers to make up a garrison in his house of Inverary, for the purpose of checking the Cavalier clans on their march; and it was scarcely to be hoped that any would leave the country till that annoyance was extirpated. In the same way, Fort William was a grievous restraint upon the Camerons and MacDonalds. At the beginning of the campaign, Mar had expressed a wish to these clans, that they should destroy the garrison of Fort William as they passed to his camp. They made the attempt, as already mentioned, but without success. He afterwards urged them to come, without troubling themselves any more about that obdurate stronghold; but, like the soldier in the well-known proverbial story, they were now obliged to con-

fess, somewhat awkwardly, that it would not let them.

In the end, some of these obstacles were in a great measure got over, though not till much valuable time was lost. Lord Seaforth, leaving two thousand of his men to face the Earl of Sutherland, marched to Perth with three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, about the beginning of November. Nearly about the same time, General Gordon, who had gone to protect the western clans in their rising, retired from a feint attack on Inverary, drawing with him a considerable portion of the forces formerly kept in check by that fortress, and by Fort William. Gordon's first destination, as already mentioned, was to unite the large body under his command, to the clans of the West Highlands, and thence to invade the Lowlands by Glasgow, while Mar himself should make a contemporaneous inroad by Stirling Bridge. But the Generalissimo had now determined upon having the whole of the troops associated under his own immediate command, and had given orders to Gordon to march towards Doune in Menteith, so as to make a lateral junction with the main body, as it was proceeding upon Stirling.

It was during the first week of November that Mar formed this resolution. His army being now increased to upwards of ten thousand men, while that of the Duke of Argyle numbered little above three thousand, he at length became confident of his ability to force the Pass. His scheme was, by detaching three different bodies of a thousand each, to different places in the neighbourhood of Stirling, to amuse Argyle and the Castle, while he himself, with the main body of his troops, should

pass at a ford a little way further up the stream. The march was settled, at a council of war held on the 9th, to take place next day.

Whatever Mar's own secret feelings might be during the seven weeks he spent in Perth, it would appear that he had used every art to keep up the hopes of his men. He had given the utmost publicity to the reports which daily reached him, of the intentions of the Chevalier's friends abroad and in England. By means of a printing-press which he procured from Aberdeen, and which was wrought by Robert Freebairn of Edinburgh, (the friend of Ruddiman,) he circulated vast quantities of high-sounding paragraphs, which were eagerly believed by his friends, while they were laughed at by the rest of the world. To show how ignorant he was of the real state of affairs south of the Forth, he tells Mr Forster, in a letter dated October 21st, that he had had no certain intelligence of any thing that had been done for the last eight days. Among other expedients, he tried the force of religion. He had with him a number of non-jurant Episcopal clergy, who were constantly holding forth to the troops, on the grand subject of their duties to "King James the Eighth." Some of the texts which Mar selected for the eloquence of these men, may be instanced as indicative of the spirit he wished to excite. One was the eleventh verse of the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah :—"Therefore, the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion ; and everlasting joy shall be upon their head : they shall obtain gladness and joy ; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away." Another was the eleventh verse of the fifty-first chapter of Jeremiah :—"Make bright the arrows ;

gather the shields : the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes : for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it ; because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple." [A Presbyterian clergyman, being informed by a Jacobite lady of these two texts, answered that, if the puissant Earl was prejudiced in favour of *eleventh verses*, he would suggest to him, the eleventh verse of the seventeenth chapter of Revelations :—" And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the *eighth*, and is of the *seven*, and goeth into perdition ;"—which, being a pun upon the title of the pretending sovereign and his father, may be considered a tolerable piece of Whiggish wit.] The last text which Mar chose for a sermon before the battle, was the twenty-second verse of the twenty-second chapter of Joshua :—" The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the Lord, save us not this day." ^a

The army left Perth on the morning of Thursday the 10th of November, carrying with it the whole of its baggage, and provision for twelve days. A garrison was left in the town, under the command of Colonel Balfour, and there were still about three thousand men scattered in parties up and down Fife. On the night of the 10th, the greater part of the army was quartered at and about Auchterarder, where the Earl of Mar held a grand review. Here General Gordon joined him with the Western clans. Early in the morning of Saturday the 12th, the army marched forward to the Roman Camp at Ardoch, about five miles from Dunblane, which, in its turn, is six from Stir-

ling. There the Earl of Mar commanded that the main body of the forces should remain on parade, while three thousand of the clans, supported by the Fife squadron and the squadrons of the Marquis of Huntly, should be led forward by General Gordon, Brigadier Ogilvy, and the Master of Sinclair, to take possession of Dunblane. The main body was to be in readiness to follow, on hearing three guns fired. He himself then made a detour to Drummond Castle, to hold a conference with the Earl of Breadalbane.

When the Duke of Argyle learned that Mar had quitted Perth with baggage and provisions, he at once apprehended, that a serious attempt was to be made upon the important pass he had so long defended. Some weeks before, even when he had not half the number of men, such a motion on the part of the enemy would have been less alarming than now. The river, which then formed his principal means of defence, was at present beginning to freeze; consequently, his post being deprived of its peculiar advantage, he was compelled to adopt the resolution of fighting with the insurgents. His army, by recent accessions from Ireland, now amounted to exactly three thousand three hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were cavalry; a force only about a third of that commanded by Mar. Yet, inferior as he thus was in strength, Argyle expressed no hesitation to give battle to his enemy.

He had early intelligence of the scheme which Mar had formed of approaching the Forth in four detachments; and, as he saw it would be impossible to resist all at once, he determined upon the decisive step of advancing to the north side of the

river, and meeting the insurgents on level ground. He had this grand additional reason for doing so, that, on such a field of battle, he would have a better opportunity than on any other, of giving full play to his horse, in which department of force lay his chief strength.

Accordingly, on the morning of the very day when the Earl of Mar advanced from Auchterarder, he quitted the parks of Stirling, and marched forward to Dunblane. He took possession of that town; but, not choosing to permit his men to quarter in it for fear of surprise, he caused them to bivouack for the night on the heights, about two miles to the north-east, above the house of Kippenross. Before permitting them to rest, he drew them up in the exact order which he intended they should assume next day before the enemy. Officers and men were then ordered to lie down, each in his proper place upon the ground, and each with his arms ready beside him. No tent was allowed to be pitched by either officer or private sentinel, under the severest penalties, although the air was sharpened by a very keen frost. He himself took up his abode in a sheep-cote, near the bottom of a hill to the right, where he sat upon a bunch of straw all night. Before the morning, he caused a distribution of ammunition to be made among the men, increasing the twenty-four rounds of shot which they previously had to thirty.³

General Gordon had not marched far on the way to Dunblane, as commanded by the Earl of Mar, when he learned that the town was prepossessed by the Duke. Not having an order to fight, he was obliged to halt, till he should inform the Commander-in-chief of what had happened. Mar,

who had returned from Drummond Castle before Gordon's express arrived, immediately sent orders that he should remain where he was till the rest of the army came up. The three guns being then fired, the main body was once more formed, and put into motion. It joined the advanced party on the way to Kinbuck. The whole army having then marched a little way further, a halt was called at a place called the Bridge of Kinbuck, where, like the troops of the Duke of Argyle, they were ordered to lie down on the bare ground for the night, without tent or covering of any kind. The Bridge of Kinbuck is about four miles from Dunblane, and somewhat less from the place where the royal army was posted.

The space which now lay betwixt the hostile armies was occupied by the Sheriffmuir, a waste so called from its having formerly been the rendezvous for the militia of the sheriffdom of Menteith. It is so uneven a piece of ground, that it almost deserves to be called a hill; only, it does not rise into any very distinct prominences. Towards the east, it joins the swell of the Ochil Hills; on the west, it descends to the brink of the river Allan, near which it is skirted by the high road from Perth to Stirling. The Duke of Argyle had determined, before quitting Stirling, to meet the enemy, if possible, on this spot, which seemed favourable to the evolutions of his cavalry.

On the morning of Sunday, the 13th [of November], both armies were roused and under arms a little after break of day. The Earl of Mar formed his army on the ground east from the road to Dunblane, having the broad swelling expanse of the Sheriffmuir before him. His first line was com-

posed of ten battalions of foot, chiefly Highlanders, under the charge of the Captain of Clanranald, the chieftain of Glengarry, the Laird of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvy, Sir John MacLean, and the two brothers of Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat, but commanded in chief by General Gordon. His second line, reckoned from right to left, comprehended three battalions of the Earl of Seaforth's foot, two battalions of the Marquis of Huntly's, and the single battalions of the Earl of Panmure, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Viscount of Strathallan, Drummond of Logie-Almond, and Robertson of Struan. The extremities of both lines were protected by horse; the Perthshire squadron on the left of the first line, and the Angus squadron on the left of the second; while, on the right of the first line were two squadrons belonging to the Marquis of Huntly, and one called the Stirling squadron, which was composed entirely of gentlemen, and which bore the royal standard, called "the Restoration;" two squadrons, under the Earl Marischal, being placed on the right of the second line. Besides this main body, which may be stated from good authority to have numbered eight thousand, there was a *corps de reserve* of about eight hundred, which was ordered to remain at a considerable distance behind.

The Duke of Argyle, almost at the same time, was employed in rousing and marshalling his men near Kippenross. The order of his troops, as arranged the night before, was as follows. His first line of foot, under the command of General Wightman, was composed of six battalions, all old troops, but not numbering above eighteen hundred men.

To the right of that body, he had his ^{three} best squadrons of dragoons ; namely, Evans', the Scots Greys, and the Earl of Stair's : these were under his own command. To the left, there were other three squadrons of dragoons, Carpenter's, Kerr's, and a squadron of Stair's, under the command of General Whitham. His Grace's second line was very small, consisting of only two battalions of foot, with a squadron of dragoons to support each extremity. A troop of volunteer noblemen and gentlemen, about sixty in number, stood behind Evans' dragoons in the right wing.

Before ordering a march, Argyle judged it expedient to make a personal survey of the motions and apparent strength of the enemy. He therefore rode forward, with his principal officers, to the top of a little hill above Dunblane, where he had placed his advanced guard. From that point he could easily perceive the dark cloud-like masses of the clans, as they wheeled into order at the distance of about two miles. At first, their advanced guards were pointed in the direction of the highway to Dunblane, as if they designed to march thither ; but by and by he observed a large body move up the face of the moor towards his right, as if to take his army in flank. Judging this troop to be the principal body of the clans—for their right wing was entirely concealed from his view by a rising ground—he at once came to the conclusion that they wished to gain the ascent of the hill, in order to descend in their usual impetuous manner upon the right wing of his army. There was an immense morass in that quarter, which might have protected him from such an attack ; but it had been frozen over during the night, in

such a way as to afford a footing even for horse. He therefore found himself obliged to make some alteration in his designs.

He, in the first place, demanded the advice of his officers. Pointing out to them the movement of the insurgents, he asked if they thought he might resist them in his present position, as well as on a piece of ground where he could meet them more directly in front. They in general thought it would be better to meet the insurgents on the high grounds, face to face; but most of them were of opinion, that the troops could scarcely be brought forward, and formed anew, in time to receive them with perfect coolness. So completely, however, was he convinced of the propriety of advancing, that he determined to hazard this smaller danger.⁴

Returning then at full gallop to the bivouack of his troops, he caused the drums to beat *the General*, which was a signal for them to start into fighting order. This was about eleven o'clock.

Before the Earl of Mar had completed the formation of his army near the Bridge of Kinbuck, he observed the party of observation standing on the hill above Dunblane. Judging from that circumstance that a battle was intended, he called a council of war in the front of his troops, to determine whether they should fight the Duke or not. He first addressed them in a speech, painting the wrongs of their sovereign and country, and congratulating them that it was at length in their power to revenge the injuries of both in open battle; after which he asked, if they thought it expedient, under their present circumstances, to come to an action with the enemy. It was carri-

ed, almost by acclamation, that they should do so. Huntly alone raised any decided objections to engaging; and some lower voices were heard to counsel a return to Perth, and a postponement of active warfare till next spring. But every negative voice was drowned in a general shout of, "Fight, fight;" and, without waiting to make a regular resolution on the subject, the greater part galloped off to their different posts.⁵

The Earl of Mar then sent the Earl of Marischal forward, with one of his own squadrons of cavalry, and Sir Donald MacDonald's battalion of foot, to reconnoitre the party which they observed on the top of the hill. Immediately after, having caused the army to break into four columns, he led them up the ascent towards the morass east of Sheriffmuir. It was at this moment that the Duke of Argyle retired to bring forward his men.

It appears that the Duke was right in calculating that his men might be formed anew upon the height of Sheriffmuir, before the advance of the enemy. But his men misarranged his calculations, by taking longer time than they ought to have done to get into motion. It was almost twelve, an hour after his Grace's return from the hill, ere they had begun to move. He thus found it impossible, on arriving at the top of the hill, to reform the lines with proper deliberation; a difficulty to which the want of a sufficient number of general officers, as well as want of time, contributed.

The right wing alone (which he had under his own immediate command) was properly formed at the moment when the insurgent army came forward. Lord Marischal having sent back intelli-

gence that he saw that body arranged on the southern summit of the hill, the Earl of Mar ordered his men to march with increased speed up the ascent, and to get again into lines as quickly as possible. They had done so a good while before the main body and left wing of the royalist army, which the Duke had trailed obliquely behind the rest, came upon their ground. It was also found at last, that the two armies, not having seen each other in marching up the different sides of the hill, were not rightly opposed. The right wings of both greatly out-flanked the corresponding portions of the enemy.

The Earl of Mar, who had placed himself at the head of the clans, and thus stood opposite to the left wing of Argyle's army, quickly perceived the disadvantage at which he might take the enemy on this point; and accordingly, having only waited to order a corresponding attack in other quarters, he pulled off his hat, waved it with a buzza, and advanced towards the battalions which were awkwardly forming opposite to him.

The action, however, was commenced by a fire which the left wing of the insurgents poured with great effect upon the corps commanded by the Duke. Their second salvee, which they gave at pistol-shot distance, was still more effective than their first. It was given with a simultaneousness, and at the same time an accuracy of aim, which the most experienced officers under Argyle allowed they had never seen surpassed in any regular troops. The squadron of General Evans was observed to reel a little under this destructive fire. On the other hand, the insurgents were not ob-

served to be in the least discomposed by the musketry which the British regiments immediately began to open up in their turn.

But it was not by passive courage of this kind, that the battle of Sheriffmuir was to be either lost or won. The Duke, afraid of being out-flanked by the cavalry of the enemy, quickly determined upon making a charge with his own cavalry. Accordingly, commanding Colonel Cathcart to lead a powerful squadron circuitously through the frozen morass, and to strike in upon the flank of Mar's left wing, he watched the favourable moment, and, at once attacking that part of the hostile army in front and side, beat it back a considerable way at the point of the sword, and confounded the two lines of which it consisted.

The weight of the attack chiefly fell upon the Perthshire and Angus cavalier gentry; men inspired with a high zeal in the cause, and who knew they had to maintain the reputation of gentlemen. The task which the Duke had undertaken, was therefore by no means an easy one. That the insurgent squadrons receded at all, was only because their small country horses were unable to bear up against the weight of the animals which came against them. Every inch they gave back had first been well disputed. At ten different places, where they thought they had an advantage of ground, they attempted to make a counter-charge in their turn. The retreat of three miles occupied as many hours; and if the Duke at length succeeded in his object, it was only by having played off his superior weight with incessant exertion, and many repeated assaults.

There was one thing particularly worthy of re-

mark in this Parthian contest. Many of the officers on the various sides were acquainted with each other ; many had sat together in the senate of their country ; many had caroused together at good men's feasts ; and some were even related. It may therefore be supposed that the feeling of the hour was not, as it might have been under other circumstances, one of uncompromising hostility. On the contrary, the hand which raised the sword or pistol against the bodies of the foe, would in many cases have been more willingly extended to give the grasp of friendship. The Duke himself offered quarter to all he recognised, and was even seen, on one occasion, to parry three strokes which one of his dragoons had aimed at a wounded gentleman. On seeing his troopers dash in upon a great huddled band of Lowland foot, whom they cut down almost without resistance, he could not help exclaiming, with the national feeling for a moment predominating over the political, and every other, " Oh, spare the poor Blue-bonnets ! "

At length, after an obstinate though very confused fight of two or three hours, he succeeded in driving the enemy over the river Allan, about three miles from the field of battle. In the mean time, the fate of his left wing had been very different.

The fight, as already mentioned, had there commenced before the royalist regiments were completely formed or brought up to their ground. The clans, at the command of the Earl of Mar, opened up a fire, which served to increase the irregularity and embarrassment of the wheeling corps opposed to them. Nevertheless, the royalists found a mo-

ment to reply with a volley of musketry, by which the Captain of Clanranald was mortally wounded. This was Allan Muidartach, famed in the Highlands to this day for maintaining the character of a chief with almost princely state, and for an almost Ossianic degree of heroism. He was led off the field, uttering expressions of encouragement to his men, and wishing success to the glorious cause they were engaged in.⁶ They were damped for a moment by seeing the man whom, of all their officers, they most revered, thus taken from them; and perhaps the circumstance might have had a fatal effect on the whole band, if the royal infantry had then been able to charge them with the bayonet. Fortunately, the Chieftain of Glengarry, head of the clan which stood to the right of the Clanranald, contrived to turn the incident to advantage. Starting from the ranks, and throwing his bonnet into the air, this spirited Highlander exclaimed, in his native language, "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day, and mourning to-morrow!" an appeal which no one could resist. They instantly started forward to attack the wavering bands of the enemy, swayed aside their bayonets with the target, and, striking deep into the ranks, soon spread death and terror in all directions. The three regiments chiefly involved in this assault, at once retired. Falling back upon the squadrons of horse behind, they communicated to them their own confusion. Within the space of seven minutes, the whole of this division of the royal army was in full retreat. The horse which had stood upon their left under General Whitham, only remained to make a feeble charge upon some advancing squadrons of the enemy's cavalry, be-

fore they also retired ; being impressed, according to their commander's report, with an idea that the right wing was beat as well as their own ; which false notion, the convexity of the hill, and the intervention of the enemy, prevented them from having disproved.

There was now presented the strange spectacle of two armies, in each of which the right wing was successful, and the left the reverse : the clans, under the Earl of Mar, were now winning exactly the same partial victory, which Argyle has been described as having won at the other extremity of the long-extended battle. His Lordship pursued the retreating regiments for half an hour, killing great numbers, and taking many more prisoners. At length, when he had driven them to Corntown, a little village near Stirling, he received intelligence of the disaster which had befallen his left wing, and found it necessary to return to the field of battle. Having thrown his men into something like order, he marched back to the top of what is called the Stony Hill of Kippendavie, where he took up his position, with the intention of waiting till he should receive an account of his left wing.

By this time three foot regiments, which originally formed the right of the Duke of Argyle's first line, and which were not attacked by the Highlanders, had marched northward to support his Grace's squadrons. If the clans had immediately gone in pursuit of that body, it might have easily been cut off. Unfortunately, the Earl of Mar, in his ignorance of the circumstances which had taken place on his left, did not well know what to do. Fearing that some strange ambuscade was laid for his destruction, he remained on

the top of the hill till towards the evening ; when at length the Duke of Argyle made his appearance on the high road by the bottom of the hill, along which he seemed to be passing back to Dunblane. The royalist troops, even those commanded by General Wightman, were now much exhausted. They were also less than a half of the numbers which still clustered around Mar. Of course, he might have easily finished his victory by descending upon them. Instead of making any such attempt, however, he quietly waited till they had all deliberately swept round the bottom of the hill, and entered Dunblane ; a mistake which General Wightman acknowledges, in his despatch to St James's, to have been the very salvation of the royal army. A Highlander, stung with indignation at the inactivity of his General, could not help exclaiming at that moment, " Oh, for an hour of Dundee ! " his mind being probably employed in conceiving the very different line of conduct which the hero of Killiecranky would have followed under such circumstances.

The Duke of Argyle was afterwards almost as much blamed as Mar for his conduct at Sheriffmuir. It was said of him, that he was a better Christian than a General, for he did not let his left hand know what his right was doing. But he should be held exculpated from this accusation. He had in reality made an attempt to inform his left wing of the success of his right ; but the aide-du-camp had fallen in passing along the lines, being involved probably in the sanguinary charge of the Highlanders. It may be asked, why he attached himself exclusively to one division of his army, and why he conceived it necessary to enter per-

sonally into the contest. But those who make such demands should recollect, that the management of armies was not then reduced to such a system of concert and unity as now, and also that in a partisan warfare of this kind, his Grace might think it necessary to follow the custom of the country by heading the charge. He has also been blamed for pushing the enemy too far, when there was so much need for his exertions elsewhere. But it is represented in his favour, that, if he had slackened the pursuit of the insurgents for a minute, they would have returned upon him with increased confidence, and he would have had the whole of his work to do over again. It was not till he had fairly beat them over the Allan, drowned a great number in the stream, and caused most of the Highlanders to run away in perfect despair, that he found it *possible* to recruit the vehemence of the pursuit. So soon as he had achieved all this, and was informed of the disaster of his left wing, he did every thing that he could do under the circumstances, to remedy the misfortune of the day. He immediately dressed his own fatigued troops, joined them in the fashion of a little army with General Wightman's foot, and then returned with caution, but, at the same time, with unimpaired resolution, to reconnoitre what yet remained of the enemy. Somebody happened to observe to him, on march, that he greatly feared they had not won a complete victory; the Duke only answered in the words of an old song, (one called "the Bob of Dunblane," and which, therefore, had a local application), "Why,

If it was na weel bobbit, weel bobbit, weel bobbit,
If it was na weel bobbit, we'll bob it again."

On coming, however, near the bottom of the hill on which Mar had drawn up the clans, he saw it would be impossible to act on the offensive; the enemy having at once a strong position, and a greatly superior force. He conceived it necessary for defence, to draw his own meagre and exhausted battalions behind some enclosures, which he found in the neighbourhood of a farm-house, near the bottom of a hill. He waited there for some time, expecting the Highland legions to descend upon him every moment; in which case he had prepared two cannons to play upon them when they came near, the foot to fire over the walls when they came nearer, and lastly, as the guns fired a second time, the horse were to dash into the breach, and make a desperate effort to repel the enemy. But Mar had fortunately mistaken the nature of his preparations, and, fearing some insidious design, had already begun to send away his rearmost ranks in another direction. When the Duke heard their bagpipes receding from the opposite side of the hill, and saw the men themselves gradually disappear from its brow, he withdrew towards Dunblane, glad to postpone the decision of the contest till next day, more especially as the night was now beginning to set in. Still, however, apprehensive of some renewed attack from the enemy, he formed his troops several times, at convenient places, on the way to Dunblane, and held himself, for a certain space, in readiness to fight. Even when he at length reached the town, he did not permit his men to take quarters. He pitched them on the fields which lay betwixt the town and the field of battle, and caused them to rest all night on their arms. He was there rejoined, at five in the after-

noon, by the discomfited part of his army under General Whitham.

Mar had, in the meantime, retired to the Roman Camp at Ardoch, where he bivouacked for the night. As his position was thus much farther from the field of battle than that of the royal army, it must be allowed that he permitted himself to be more disconcerted by the events of the day than Argyle, and, by consequence, that he had the worst of the battle.

Argyle made this matter still clearer next morning, by reappearing on the field with his piquet-guard so early as the break of day; whereas, Mar never again looked near it. All the trophies of victory, moreover, remained with the royalist General. He had taken three standards, including the royal one called "the Restoration;" thirteen pairs of colours, four pieces of cannon, seven waggon, and one silver trumpet.⁷ Nearly the whole wreck of the battle fell into his hands, including a great quantity of muskets, plaids, and broadswords, of which last many had silver cases for the hand. He had gained every advantage but that of being able to follow up the partial victory of the preceding day, with a second attack or with a pursuit. The numbers and condition of his men were quite inadequate for any such movement; and, while Mar fell back upon Perth, he judged it expedient to retire to Stirling.

The loss sustained by the two armies was perhaps pretty equally balanced, when their comparative numbers were taken into account. The insurgents are vaguely supposed to have had about seven hundred slain, including the Earl of Strath-

more, the Captain of Clanranald, and other persons of distinction. Nearly two hundred were made prisoners, and sent to Stirling; in which number there were Lord Strathallan, Drummond of Logie-Drummond, Walkinshaw of Barrafield, and eighty other gentlemen. The Duke of Argyle took a great many more prisoners, in the course of his engagement with Mar's left wing; but, not having men to guard them in the rear, they afterwards rejoined their friends: thus, both the Earl of Panmure and Robertson of Struan were, at one time, in the hands of the enemy, but afterwards rescued. The royal army had exactly two hundred and ninety men killed, a hundred and eighty-seven wounded, and a hundred and thirty-three taken prisoners.⁸ Among the slain was the Earl of Forfar, a scion of the house of Douglas, and an experienced officer. He had led on Morison's regiment in the absence of its commander; but, falling into the hands of the Highlanders, he imprudently resisted them till he had got sixteen broadsword wounds, besides a pistol-shot in his knee; of which he died some days after at Stirling.

Out of the various bodies of troops which composed the Earl of Mar's army, the MacDonald regiments, on the right wing, behaved, by many degrees, the best. These men had undertaken, before coming upon the field, to beat all that should be opposed to them; and they certainly did what they promised. Next to them, in point of behaviour, may be placed the gentlemen of the Perthshire and Angus squadrons, who made so gallant a resistance to the heavy repeated charges of the Duke of Argyle's horse. It cannot be said of any other portion of the army that it behaved very well,

or even with a moderate degree of good conduct. The Earl of Seaforth's men all fled, except those who were natives of Kintail. The MacPhersons stood beside the contest, without ever drawing a sword or firing a gun. The Camerons, the Gordons, and the Stuarts of Appin, on seeing the horse beat back by the Duke of Argyle, broke away without making any effort whatever; which was the reason that General Wightman had three entire regiments to lead up to the support of the Duke's horse. It must be mentioned, however, that in general it was only the canaille of these clans who misbehaved; the gentlemen and officers mostly joining with courage in the active fight on one wing or other. The Earl of Marischal's horse, and other squadrons at the right wing of the insurgent army, were blamed for not acting with sufficient vigour against Whitham's horse, and for permitting that craven part of the royal army to retire with the principal standard as a trophy.

The battle of Sheriffmuir caused the Earl of Mar to lose a great number of the clans. It had been said of them, that they would desert his camp in three cases:—If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home; if they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home; if they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home. They now left him from a complication of all these reasons, and because they did not think that their Lowland allies had acted well in the late engagement.

Among those who retired were the Camerons. This clan, usually so brave, went home, partly ashamed at their own indecisive conduct, and part-

ly disgusted by the general result of the day. It is related, that, on reaching their native country, the young Chief of Lochiel, who had led them out on this occasion, endeavoured, for a long time, to conceal the event of the day from his father ; being ashamed to tell that old gray chieftain, who had fought for the house of Stuart from the days of Cromwell, and always maintained the honour of his name, that the day had at last come, when the Camerons did not acquit themselves like their fathers. 9

CHAPTER VI.

AFFAIR OF PRESTON, AND SUPPRESSION OF
THE INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND.

————— Let them come ;
They come like sacrifices in their trim,
And to the fire-eyed maid of smoky war,
All hot, and bleeding, will we offer them.

K. Henry IV. Part I.

THE southern party of insurgents were represented, at the end of the fourth chapter, as on the point of invading England by the western border, with the hope of raising the numerous Catholics and other Jacobites of Lancashire. It now remains to show the fortune which they met with in their enterprise.

They entered England on the 1st of November, and quartered for the first night at Brampton, a market-town in Cumberland, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and raised the money which was collected for the excise on malt and ale. Here

Mr Forster opened a commission which he had received, on the march, from the Earl of Mar, empowering him to act as General in England. The whole army was, at this time, very much fatigued, in consequence of the forced marches of the last five days, during which they had proceeded no less than a hundred miles.

As they advanced next day to Penrith, they learned that the *Posse Comitatus* had been assembled, to the number of twelve or fourteen thousand men, with the design of meeting them on Penrith-Moor ; and this enormous force was headed by the Sheriff of the county, by Lord Lonsdale, and by the Bishop of Carlisle. Almost immediately after, they were informed that the posse had broken up and dispersed ; the rustics who composed it being found totally incapable of braving a host, which their imaginations had previously invested with all kinds of dreadful attributes. The insurgents, who immediately set themselves to pursue and seize the fugitives, took a considerable quantity of arms, horses, and other things useful to them, exclusive of a prodigious number of pitchforks, which the lower order of the men had thrown away in their flight. Finding no use for their prisoners, they soon gave them their liberty ; a kindness which the obliged party repaid by shouting, " God save King James, and prosper his merciful army ! " ¹ At Penrith, where they arrived that night, they found a supper, which had been prepared for the Bishop and his followers, and which they probably thought the best part of the spoils of the day.

Penrith was then a populous and wealthy town, so that the insurgents, if so inclined, might have done it much injury. They were prevented effec-

tually from taking any measures against it, by some of the more respectable inhabitants, who had previously made a resolution to treat them, from the first, with civility. Some individuals—it is not recorded of what persuasion—attempted to get Mr Forster's permission to burn or pull down a Presbyterian meeting-house ; but he firmly rejected their request, observing, that he intended to gain by clemency, and not by cruelty.³ Strange to say, the High Church mania had recently caused many such violent proceedings in various towns throughout England.

They marched next day to Appleby, where they stayed two days to rest. The march had hitherto been very severe upon the Highland foot, notwithstanding that the English horse had carried their arms most of the way.

A clergyman of the name of Gwyn, who accompanied the expedition, is stated to have taken a very strange way of exhibiting his zeal during the march. At every church which occurred on the way, he carefully scratched out King George's name from the prayer-books, substituting that of the Chevalier in a nice hand, resembling print, so that the proprietors of the volumes could scarcely perceive the alteration.

Having proclaimed the Chevalier at Appleby, and also raised the public money, they marched, on the 5th, to Kendal, and from Kendal, next day, to Kirby Lonsdale. Though they had thus traversed the two populous counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, they had as yet been joined by only one or two of the twenty thousand Catholics whom the Northumbrian insurgents had expected ; an accession which was more than coun-

terbalanced by the defection of seventeen Teviotdale gentlemen at Penrith. Now, however, they received a few of the Catholic gentlemen of Lancashire. They were also cheered for a moment, on next day's march, by learning that the Chevalier had been proclaimed at Manchester, and that the gentry of the country in that direction seemed in general determined to join them.

Their next remove was to Lancaster, where they released some of their friends from the county gaol; in particular, Thomas Syddal, who had headed the Manchester mob, on a late occasion, when it pulled down a dissenting chapel. On Wednesday, the 9th of November, after having spent two days at Lancaster, and received some accessions of force, they set out for Preston, designing to possess themselves of Warrington Bridge, and afterwards to fall in upon Liverpool. In anticipation of their intentions, General Willes, who had received an order from the Government to draw some forces together, and proceed against the rebels, rendezvoused at Warrington Bridge; the citizens of Liverpool at the same time making active preparations to defend themselves. It was unfortunate for the insurgents, that their West-of-England friends had raised so many local disturbances during the past year, as the Government had been thereby induced to send more troops to this than to any other district of England. These troops were now lying scattered in the neighbouring towns of Manchester, Chester, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, ready to be amassed into a little army for their destruction.

General Carpenter was in the meantime apprised of the direction which the insurgents had ta-

ken; and, though his troops were excessively fatigued with their late long marches, and he himself indisposed, he lost no time in advancing from Newcastle, to renew the chase he had so unnecessarily abandoned. Willes learned at Newcastle, on the 8th, that Carpenter was at Durham; and he immediately sent an express to hasten and direct his march.

On Friday the 11th, just as the insurgents had taken possession of Preston, General Willes left Manchester for Wigan, taking with him four regiments of dragoons and one of foot, the last being the corps which has been already introduced to the notice of the reader under the title of "the Cameronians." At Wigan, where he arrived that evening, he was joined by Pitt's regiment of dragoons, which had been there quartered, and also by Stanhope's, which, having been disposed at Preston, had necessarily retired to Wigan on the approach of the insurgents. Five of these six horse regiments, Wynne's, Honeywood's, Munden's, Dormer's, and Stanhope's had been raised within the year, to answer the emergencies of Government. But, though the men were thus very raw, their officers were generally men of experience.

Willes had intelligence at Wigan, that General Carpenter would advance to Preston next day, and also that the insurgents were lingering there, with the intention, apparently, of sustaining his attack. He therefore marched forward to Preston next morning.

The insurgents had been joined, at Preston, by almost all the Catholic gentry of the neighbourhood, amounting, with their tenants, to about twelve hundred. The mass of the recruits were indeed

mere rustics, and very imperfectly armed ; some, having swords and no muskets, others muskets and no swords, while a great number had only pitchforks, or no weapons at all. Forster, who was perfectly ignorant of war and its necessities, thought that Willes would never be able to face him, since his force had been so much increased. But the more experienced MacIntosh entertained a very different notion. " Are these the fellows that ye intend to fight Willes with ? " he said, in derision to Forster, as he pointed through a window to a pack of louts who passed along the street. " Gude faith, man, an ye had ten thousand of them, I would engage to beat the whole with a squadron of Willes's dragoons. " ³

On the evening of Friday the 11th, Forster was for the first time made aware of General Willes's intention, by a letter which a friend of the cause had sent to the Earl of Derwentwater. The intelligence is said to have dispirited him very much, so as almost to unfit him for his command. He sent the letter to Lord Kenmure, the head of the Scottish portion of the army. Kenmure immediately gathered a few of his chief officers, with whom he repaired to Forster's lodgings, to hold a general council. To their great surprise, they found the General gone to bed, and that although it was still an early hour. However, a council being held, it was determined to send out an advanced party of horse towards Wigan, to plant strong guards at Derrin and Ribble Bridges, and to get the whole army in readiness to fight at the shortest notice. ⁴

It seems to be generally allowed, that, if the insurgents had contested the pass of Ribble Bridge

with General Willes, at the same time that they rendered two adjacent fords impassable by the ordinary means, they might have easily stood their ground, and even perhaps destroyed the royal army. Forster was unfortunately inspired with an idea that "the body of the town was the security of the army," and had already resolved to abandon all exterior defences.

Next forenoon, when it was known that Willes' troops were advancing towards the bridge, Forster commanded the guard of a hundred Highlanders, which the council had placed there under Farquharson of Invercauld, to retire into the town. He, at the same time, withdrew a company of gentlemen who had taken up a most advantageous post in Sir Henry Haughton's house, near the extremity of the town, corresponding with the bridge.

Between the bridge and the town, a space of about half a mile, the road ran along a deep way, betwixt two high banks, the tops of which were surmounted by strong hedges. Cromwell, in making an advance to Preston, similar to what Willes was about to make, had here experienced great difficulty; the enemy throwing down large stones upon his men from the tops of the banks, one of which stones would have destroyed himself, if he had not forced his horse to leap into a quicksand. Willes, who was surprised to find the bridge undefended, at once supposed that the insurgents had preferred the opportunity of assailing his men by an ambuscade from behind these hedges; and he took the greatest care, on approaching them, to ascertain if they were lined. On finding that they were not, he could only form the idea that the insurgents had evacuated the town altogether, and

were endeavouring, by forced marches, to steal back into Scotland. ⁵

He was soon informed of the real state of the case ; which was, simply, that Forster had drawn all his men into the centre of the town, and barricaded the four principal streets. The English General then rode forward, and took a survey of the defences. He found that the streets were not barricaded at the extremities towards the fields, but a good way up, near the centre of the town ; apprehensions having been apparently entertained that he might overpower them by sending his men through the numerous lanes at those parts of the street, and thus coming in rear of their defences. The men, he learned, were disposed not only on the barricades, but also in the houses near them, and especially in all the houses which, from their forming the corners of lanes, presented two sides towards the expected assailants.

The disposition of the insurgents, it must be allowed, was very judicious, supposing that it was quite impossible to defend the bridge over the Ribble. The gentlemen volunteers, both English and Scottish, were drawn up in a body in the churchyard, under the command of Kenmure, Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Derwentwater ; the last stripped to his shirt, and incessantly employed in cheering the men, both by presents of money and words of encouragement. It was to be the chief duty of this gallant band to support Brigadier MacIntosh, who was posted at a barrier below the church. Lord Charles Murray, third son of the Duke of Athole, was placed, with a party of Highlanders, at the barrier of a street which led out to the fields. The MacIntosh clan was disposed en-

tire at a windmill on the road to Lancaster. And the gentlemen of Teviotdale, Berwickshire, and Northumberland, with some of the Earl of Strathmore's regiment, were stationed, under the command of Major Miller and Mr Douglas, at a barrier on the road towards Liverpool.

To make the assault with more effect, General Willes determined to attack only two of these points of defence at once. Having, therefore, divided his troops into two parties, one under Brigadier Dormer, and the other under Brigadier Honeywood, and having selected two particular barriers as those most proper to be assailed, he gave the order to fall on, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The first attack was made by Brigadier Honeywood, upon the barrier defended by Old Borlum. Five different companies of dismounted troopers, one from each of five regiments, were led on to this attack, which they performed with great resolution. Dashing into the street commanded by the barricade, they made directly up to that defence, endeavouring to fire the houses as they advanced, and discharging shot at every point where they could perceive an enemy. The insurgents poured a destructive fire upon them from the barrier, and also from the adjacent houses; but, though a great number fell, they continued for a considerable time in the street. When every other attempt had failed to make a lodgement near the barrier, the Cameronian regiment was led by its lieutenant-colonel, Lord Forrester, through a lane which debouched upon the street, close to that point. Lord Forrester, a singularly brave man,

was himself the first to appear before the dreaded fortification. He rode into the empty street, with his drawn sword in his hand; deliberately approached the barrier, to survey it; and then coolly retired, amidst a shower of balls, some of which grazed his person. Having thus animated his men, he brought them up to the point of the barricade, and gave them directions to fire upon those who manned it. He at the same time sent a party across the street, to take possession of a very tall house, from which he rightly believed that he should be able to annoy the enemy. This portion of Willes' forces succeeded during the afternoon, in making some other advantageous lodgements; but its main body retired at last for the night, having lost a considerable number of men, and produced upon the whole little impression on the enemy.

The regiment under Brigadier Dormer was not more successful. They marched up with great resolution, and bore for a long time the severe and well-aimed fire of the insurgents. But they were at last obliged, like their companions, to retire with considerable loss. During the evening of Saturday, and all the subsequent night, Willes' troops kept up an almost incessant platooning at the posts of the besieged.

Next morning, Sunday, November 13th, the same day on which the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought, General Carpenter arrived with his forces, and greatly brightened the prospects of the royalist party. Willes immediately proceeded to explain his dispositions to Carpenter, and then offered to resign the chief command to him, as he was the superior officer. Carpenter, however, was so well

pleased with what had been done, that he refused to accept what Willes offered ; observing, that he ought to have the glory of finishing the task, since he had the merit of commencing it. With the increased forces which Willes now had under his command, the town was immediately invested on every side, and more formidable preparations were made for a renewed assault.

Forster, however, completely lost heart, on seeing Carpenter's troops added to those who formerly threatened him ; and, about two o'clock that afternoon, he sent out his principal adviser, Colonel Oxburgh, to ask terms of surrender. This step, it must be observed, was taken without the advice, and even without the knowledge, of the leading men in the army : it was the result alone of the timidity of Forster himself, Lord Widdrington, Colonel Oxburgh, and some others. The Highlanders, instead of entertaining any such notions at the moment, were agitating a proposal for breaking through the King's troops, sword in hand, and then endeavouring to regain their native country. They were indeed so adverse to the idea of a surrender, that, according to the report of a person present with them that day, they would have unquestionably shot Colonel Oxburgh as he was passing out to the royalists, if they had been aware of his errand.

When Oxburgh was first introduced to General Willes, he experienced a reception very different from what he had expected. Instead of finding the General eager to make a bargain, as circumstances had led him to hope, he himself was with difficulty permitted to make a proposal. Willes told him that he would not treat with rebels : they

had killed a great number of his Majesty's subjects, and they must expect to undergo the same fate. Oxburgh used many entreaties, and obtested the General, as a man of honour and an officer, to show mercy to people that were willing to submit. Willis then condescended to say, that, if they would lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces till further orders. For the consideration of this offer, he proposed to allow an hour. Oxburgh immediately returned, and reported the result of his mission. It is not known what effect it produced upon the minds of those who heard it. But, before the hour was expired, Mr Dalziel, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, was sent out to inquire what terms General Willes would allow to his countrymen in particular. Willes answered, that he would give no other terms than those already offered through Colonel Oxburgh. Dalziel then requested that his constituents might be allowed till seven o'clock next morning to consider the best method of delivering themselves up. The General said that he might do so, on condition that they should give him satisfactory hostages against their throwing up new intrenchments, or suffering any of their number to escape. Dalziel having expressed no hesitation on this score, General Willes sent Colonel Cotton back with him to town, to bring out the hostages.

The Earl of Derwentwater, and MacIntosh of Borlum, being selected for this service, Colonel Cotton soon after returned to his General's tent, having previously received the parole of all the noblemen and gentlemen, that they would observe

the proposed conditions. During that afternoon, the most violent disputes raged amongst the various component parts of the insurgent force. The Highlanders, enraged to the last degree at the dishonour about to be brought upon them, were in a state of absolute mutiny. Several individuals were killed, and a great many more wounded, in the course of their disturbances. As for Mr Forster, if he had appeared on the street, he would have been slain, though he had had a hundred lives. An attempt was made upon his life, even in his own chamber. A Mr Murray, who had entered to remonstrate against the surrender, was so enraged as to fire a pistol at him, the ball of which would certainly have pierced his body, had not Mr Patten, his chaplain, struck up the arm of the intending assassin, just at the moment of the discharge.

Next morning, at seven, Forster sent a messenger to General Willes, informing him that the gentlemen assembled in Preston were disposed to submit according to the terms proposed. Brigadier MacIntosh, one of the two hostages, was in the tent when this message was delivered, and could not help remarking, that he did not believe the Scots would yield on such terms. They were people, he said, of desperate fortunes; and he, who had been a soldier himself, knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. "Then go back to your people again," exclaimed Willes; "and I will attack your town, and not spare a man of you." MacIntosh went into the town, as desired; but immediately came back with an assurance that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scots

would surrender on the same terms with the English.⁶

The English army then entered Preston in two detachments, and meeting in the market-place, where the whole of the insurgents were assembled, took possession of their arms, and formally made them prisoners. Among the captives were seventy-five English, and a hundred and forty-three Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, all of whom were disposed under guards in the principal inns. The common men, amounting in all to fourteen hundred, whereof a thousand were Scotch, were confined in the church. It might have been expected, from the great accessions they had received during the last few days, that there would have been more prisoners; but, probably, many of the rustics had made their escape during the day of the blockade, or were not distinguished by the soldiers at the surrender. Seventeen of their number had been killed in the defence; while, of the assailants, there were between sixty and seventy killed, and as many more wounded.

Thus ended, with a most humiliating surrender, one grand division of the insurrection of 1715.⁷

CHAPTER VII.

ARRIVAL OF THE CHEVALIER IN SCOTLAND.

And I shall sing a ranting sang,
That day our King comes ower the water.
Lady Keith's Lament.

THE partial defeat of Sheriffmuir, and the absolute rendition of Preston, were not the only injuries which the Jacobite cause sustained at the fatal point of time now under view. Almost on the same day with both of these unhappy incidents, the insurgent garrison of Inverness was reduced by the Whiggish clans, under Duncan Forbes of Culloden and Lord Lovat ; the last of whom had recently seen fit to appear on the government side, for the purpose of establishing his somewhat questionable title against the pretensions of a lady whose husband had joined the opposite interest. The loss of Inverness was of great consequence to the insurgents ; for it caused the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly to leave the camp with most of their men, in order to protect their respective countries from the new garrison ; and it supplied the enemy with a sort of *point-d'appui*, by which to annoy and check all the in-

surrectionary movements from the North. Among other results which it produced, was the desertion of the greater part of the clan Fraser. These men had come in a considerable number, under Mr Mackenzie of Fraserdale, (the husband of Sybilla Fraser, who claimed the title of Lovat), being no doubt induced to do so, at once by their own inclinations, and by supposing their conduct to be agreeable to the male representative of their family. But when they learned that that personage appeared in arms on the opposite score, they instantly left Mr Mackenzie's service, and entered that of Lord Lovat; the clannish principle, as the world remarked at the time, being thus approved as superior to every other in the mind of a Highlander.

The Earl of Mar's army seems to have been reduced about one half, in consequence of these various disasters. At the same time, the Duke of Argyle was re-inforced at Stirling by several thousand Dutch troops, who had landed in England about the middle of November, and were immediately forwarded to him.

It was indeed apparent, as the Whig writers remarked, that, whether the battle of Sheriffmuir was or was not a victory to the Duke of Argyle, it was at least a victory to King George. Mar might contend as he pleased for this honour; but, even allowing that he was the victor, what kind of a triumph was it, which had caused half of his troops to desert, and obliged himself to give up the object for which he had advanced, that of marching across the Forth? It was ludicrously remarked, that one more such victory would ex-

actly leave him without a single man, and perhaps make himself fly the kingdom.

But, in truth, Mar was by no means insensible to the disadvantages arising from the fight: he only thought it necessary to boast as much as possible, in order to sustain the spirits of his friends. He still entertained hopes that the Duke of Ormond would produce a grand diversion in England, or at least that the landing of the Chevalier, which was daily expected, would bring out a multitude who had not as yet declared themselves. To keep his force in heart till either of these events, he endeavoured, by all possible means, to impress the public with an idea that he had gained the battle of Sheriffmuir, and that he was now in a more flourishing condition than ever.¹ His boasts, in reality, were loud, precisely in the ratio of his fears; and, strange to say, at the very time whilst he was issuing confident proclamations, and inflated accounts of his strength, he formed the resolution of retreating from Perth whenever Argyle should march against it, and even began to make overtures to the royalist general for a capitulation.

It is true, that the men who deserted him were chiefly those who had distinguished themselves least at Sheriffmuir, while the remainder comprehended nearly the whole clans, and all the good officers. Nor was there any want of courage or zeal in the army as thus reduced. The Highland chiefs, who all remained, unanimously pressed for a second battle, offering to make the first charge at the head of their men. Gordon, Hamilton, and Ecclin, the three principal officers, were of the same mind, and displayed an equal readiness to

expose themselves. "If we have not yet gained a victory," said General Hamilton, at a council of war held immediately after the battle, "we ought to fight Argyle once a-week till we make it one."²

But the bravery of these men was destined to be utterly thrown away upon their general, whom the issue of the battle of Sheriffmuir had convinced more firmly than ever of the truth of his governing maxim, that he could not hope for success in battle without an enormously superior force. It is also to be observed, that, although a certain portion of his troops were thus eager for active warfare, there was another which joined him in advocating the expediency of delay. There were even a considerable number at this juncture, who, conceiving that things were not favourable to their enterprise at present, and supposing that they could easily renew it at a more auspicious time, proposed in secret whispers that they should treat with the Duke of Argyle for an amnesty with the government.

We have the authority of a Journal published with Mar's sanction in France, for stating that this last party was a numerous one, so early as the time when they received intelligence of the reduction of Preston. At that time, says the journalist, "some, who had been caballing privately before, began to speak openly of capitulating with the enemy, and found others more easily to join with them." Early in December, according to the same authority, "those who were for capitulating with the enemy, pressed the Earl of Mar so hard to consent to it, that, to prevent some people from making private separate treaties, which he

found they were about," he was at last forced to comply with them to a certain extent. Through the Countess of Murray, who was aunt to the Duke of Argyle,³ he begged that nobleman to inform him if he had power to treat with the gentlemen then in arms at Perth. Argyle answered, with great civility, that he had not power to treat with them in a body, but that he would write to court to request an enlargement of his commission to that extent. The reply sent from the insurgent camp was, that, when he should let them know he possessed sufficient power to enter into a treaty, they would make their propositions.

The Duke of Argyle lost no time in sending his commission to London for renewal; but, instead of procuring what he wanted, he was not even honoured by a return of his old commission.⁴ The members of the Government had probably been apprised before of the tenderness he showed to various individuals in the insurgent army on the field of battle, and was now, without doubt, alarmed at the disposition he manifested to procure them a forgiveness of their offence.

It was while the affairs of the Chevalier wore this grave aspect, while his army was reduced to a half of its former numbers, and its leader was contemplating an abandonment of the rest, that that personage at length resolved to gratify the wishes of his friends, by going to join them in Scotland. The insurgents had all along looked to such an event, as to one which should be next thing to ensuring their success; and there really is great reason for supposing, that, if he had appeared immediately after they began to gather, and had then acted with even a moderate degree of vigour, the

enterprise would have been happily terminated. The enthusiasm of the Jacobites was a matter which referred almost exclusively to the person of this youth. Distant and alien as he had always been, they entertained the utmost reverence for him. In the want of his own presence among them, they had been in the habit of feeding their affection with the slightest memorials of his person; with trinkets containing locks of his hair, with miniatures of his face, or even with copies of his autograph. The present writer has seen a small bible which formerly belonged to one of these enthusiasts; and within the first board there still remained the vestiges of a print of the Chevalier's head, which had apparently been put there, that the aspirations of the proprietor of the volume regarding his political idol might mingle, day by day, with the worship of the Divine Being himself—

“ Where, mixed with God's, his blest idea lies. ”

It is evident that, to give a sentiment of this peculiar kind its full scope and force, the presence of the object which inspired it was most expressly necessary. The Whigs—who did not fight for King George so much as for the abstract idea of liberty and protestantism—could not have been much animated by the eye of their sovereign; but the Jacobites required this, perhaps, more than any thing else.

At the first intelligence of the insurrection, James had gone from Lorraine to St Maloes, where he exerted himself for some time with great activity in shipping off supplies; designing himself to go on board one of the last vessels, in order to sail for Scotland. His departure, on account of va-

rious untoward circumstances, was postponed from day to day for upwards of a month, till at length he found it impossible to sail from St Maloes, without the certainty of being captured by the British men-of-war, which lay before the harbour. He then travelled across the country to Dunkirk, and, arriving there about the middle of December, ere any public notice had been taken of his motions, he immediately went on board a small vessel of eight guns, under two hundred tons burden, which happened to be lying in the harbour. His whole retinue at this moment consisted of six persons, who, like himself, were disguised in the dress of French naval officers. Before leaving the harbour, he left directions for the main body of his servants, that they should follow him at a little distance in two other vessels, which should at the same time bring some stores he designed for the army at Perth, besides some ingots of gold, being part of the loan he had procured from the King of Spain.

The Chevalier had been loudly accused of cowardice, at Paris, on account of his long delay in embarking for Scotland. But, if he had not proved his courage by the way he performed the duties of an aid-de-camp to the French general at the battle of Malplaquet, he must have been ascertained to possess that quality in at least a respectable degree, by the dangers which he braved in his present voyage. It must be recollected that the seas through which he had to pass, were swept in all directions by English war-vessels, and also that he underwent no little danger from his own crew, the reward of a hundred

thousand pounds for his apprehension being offered to foreigners as well as to native Britons.

After a voyage of five days, the little vessel in which he sailed was observed off the Height of Montrose ; when, the concerted signals being made on both sides, it was soon ascertained on shore that " the King " was on board. Intelligence of his approach was immediately despatched to the army, at Perth, where it occasioned a tumult of joy surpassing all description. It was not found convenient, however, to land immediately, or at Montrose. A suspicious-looking vessel, which appeared at a little distance, caused the sleep which conveyed the hope of the Jacobites to sheer off to the northward ; and it was not till next morning, when he found himself near the little fishing-harbour of Peterhead, a burgh of barony belonging to his friend the Earl Marischal, that the Chevalier thought he might safely run his vessel towards the land.

He accordingly debarked at Peterhead, on the 22nd of December, being attended by no more than six persons, among whom were the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick, and Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lochiel. The last of these two gentlemen was immediately sent off express to Perth, with the news of the debarkation ; and in the meantime James and his other five friends, still in disguise, took up their abode for the night in one of the best houses in the town ; the vessel being instantly despatched back to France, with intelligence of his safe arrival. Next day, he advanced towards the head-quarters of his army, lodging the first night at Newburgh, a seat of Earl Marischal, and next day passing

through Aberdeen, without as yet disclosing the secret of his rank. He then went to Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal.

Mar, on being apprised of his arrival by Lieutenant Cameron, took horse, with the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen, and rode forward to meet him. Arriving at Fetteresso on the 27th, they were introduced, many of them for the first time, to their pseudo-sovereign, who on this occasion threw aside his disguise, and appeared in his proper dress, permitting them all to kiss his hand. Immediately after the ceremony of introduction, they proceeded to proclaim him before the door of the house.

He was detained a few days at Fetteresso by an ague, but spent the time in receiving loyal addresses from the non-jurant clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, and from the magistracy of that burgh. Here he also conferred some new titles, elevating the Earl of Mar, in particular, to a dukedom. On the 2nd of January, he moved forward to Brechin, on the 3rd to Kinnaird, and on the 4th to Glamis Castle, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore; which last he declared to be the finest chateau he had ever seen in any country. From Glamis, Mar issued a letter descriptive of the person and address of the Chevalier, which he caused to be printed and published, for the purpose of giving the people a favourable impression of him. It is well worthy of a perusal in these modern times, as a specimen of the policy of this crafty statesman.

" Glames, Jan. 5, 1716.

" I met the King at Fetteresso, on Tuesday

se'enight, where we staid till Friday; from thence we came to Brechin, then to Kinnaird, and yesterday here. The King designed to have gone to Dundee to-day; but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to Scöon. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this season, else he had not been so long by the way. People, everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express their duty as they ought. Without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, setting aside his being a prince, he is really the finest gentleman I ever knew. He has a very good presence, and resembles Charles the Second a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him. He has fine parts, and dispatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw any body write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his throne, is what these kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much, that I hope there's a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it would be odd if his presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass it, does not turn the hearts even of the most obdurate. It is not fit to tell the particulars; but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well

could be, to gain every body ; and I hope God will touch their hearts.

“ I have reason to hope, we shall all quickly see a new face of affairs abroad, in the King's favour ; which is all I dare commit to paper.

“ MAR.”

The Chevalier moved, on the 5th, from Glammis to Dundee, which town he entered on horseback, the Earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, while nearly three hundred gentlemen came up behind. At the request of the friends who attended him, he remained for an hour at the cross of the burgh, to show himself to the people. They hailed him with loud and long-continued shouts ; and many individuals were admitted to the honour of kissing his hand. In the evening, after having gratified the Episcopalian clergy, it is said, by imprisoning the Presbyterian, he retired to the house of Stewart of Grandtully, in the neighbourhood, where he spent the night. Next day, Saturday, January 7th, he proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie, and dined at Castle Lyon, (now Castle Huntly), another seat of the Earl of Strathmore ; in the evening he advanced to Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, one of the most zealous of his adherents. On Sunday morning, after having slept at Fingask, he went forward to Scoon ; which, being one of the royal palaces of Scotland, and only two miles from the camp at Perth, he designed for his permanent residence.

The arrival of this personage at the camp was a matter of mutual disappointment. The men,

though extremely glad to see even himself, were mortified to the last degree at finding that he brought with him neither men nor stores. He, on the other hand, could not help expressing dissatisfaction when he learned how small they were in numbers. On coming to Perth next day, he desired to see "those little kings with their armies," as he was pleased to entitle the chiefs and the clans; and accordingly, one of the best bodies was turned out to display itself before him. He was highly pleased with the appearance of the warlike mountaineers, and approved of their arms and mode of using them. But, on inquiring how many such troops were in arms for him, and learning their miserably diminished number, he gave visible tokens that he was surprised, and that his surprise was not an agreeable one. It may be argued, from the circumstance of there having been no general review on this occasion, that the forces were too few to make a respectable appearance.

He was not prevented, however, from issuing a few edicts in his assumed royal character. He ordered a fast and thanksgiving over the kingdom for his safe arrival, and commanded all ministers to pray for him by name in churches. He proclaimed a currency to all foreign coin, appointed a day for a Convention of Estates in Scotland to settle the nation, and ordered all fencible men in the kingdom, between sixteen and sixty, to repair to his standard. The sixth of his proclamations was for his coronation, which he appointed to take place at Scoon on the 23d of January, and for which the Jacobite ladies of Perthshire immediately began to prepare, by subscribing sums for the purchase of a temporary coronet where-

with to ornament his brows, in the absence of the diadem of his ancestors at Edinburgh Castle.

But these attempts at sovereign state never went beyond the paper on which they were at first set forth. Before he had been three days at Perth, he became completely aware, to use a vernacular phrase, that he was in a scrape. He found himself committed to what was little better than the staff of an army; and that small band was itself on the point of being broken up, either by its own disputes, or by the force of the enemy. The distant clans as yet displayed no disposition to rejoin the camp, alleging the depth of the snow as a reason for their not undertaking the journey. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Seaforth were, he understood, actually in terms with the government for a submission. At the same time, the Duke of Argyle was preparing his immensely superior force to march against Perth, so soon as the snow should melt; and he had already taken the better part of Fife under his authority, and thus cut off all supply of coal from the insurgent camp, at a time when that commodity had become the most indispensable of all the necessaries of life.

It is not easy to imagine a more melancholy condition than that of the unfortunate representative of the Stuarts on this occasion. It is evident, from the lugubrious tone of a speech which he delivered to his council soon after his arrival, that he felt it to be so; but perhaps it could not be more distinctly proved by any thing, than by the fact which one of his adherents has recorded of him, that, during the whole time of his stay at Perth, he never was once observed to smile.

"His person," says the Master of Sinclair, de-

scribing him as he appeared at Perth, "was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of an ague, which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution; and there is something of a vivacity in his eye, that perhaps would have been more visible, if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement; which, it must be acknowledged, were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul, as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor overmuch to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions, we know not; here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like King James VII., must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII.; and yet I must not conceal, that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and, if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances

he found us in dejected him ; I am sure the figure he made dejected us ; and, had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done.

“ At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say, that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety, grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolutions of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another. ” ’

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE INSURRECTION.

But see Argyle, with watchful eyes,
 Lodged in his deep intrenchment, lies;
 Couched like a lion in thy way,
 He waits to spring upon his prey;
 While, like a herd of timorous deer,
 Thy army shakes and pants with fear,
 Led by their doughty general's skill,
 From firth to firth, and hill to hill.

Is thus thy haughty promise paid,
 That to the Chevalier was made,
 When thou didst oaths and duty barter
 For dukedom, generalship, and garter?
 Three weeks thy Jemmy shall command,
 With Highland sceptre in his hand,
 Too good for his pretended birth—
 Then down shall fall the king of Perth!

Pasquil on the Earl of Mar.

ORDERS had now been transmitted from the Government, commanding the Duke of Argyle to proceed against the insurgents, and endeavour to crush them while they were in their present weak condition. To assist him both in his councils and in the management of the army, he was joined in December by General Cadogan, an officer ranking next to Marlborough in reputation, and whose loyalty and zeal were still less questionable. It

would appear that the Duke of Argyle was not himself so anxious to give the insurrection its death-blow, as might have been expected from one in his situation : he was evidently far more disposed to let his unfortunate countrymen disperse at their own convenience, and without annoyance ; and there can be no doubt, that his chagrin at not receiving permission to treat with them was excessive. It would be difficult to find a sufficient reason for his Grace's feelings and conduct at this juncture. Perhaps, his tenderness proceeded entirely from national and benevolent feeling ; perhaps, that was mingled with a care to preserve the estates of some of the insurgent chiefs on which he had seignorial and other claims. It is certain, at least, that he expressed both surprise and mortification at the very success he was soon to meet with ; and it is also certain, that the Government was afterwards so fully convinced of his want of zeal in their behalf, as to deprive him of all his offices, notwithstanding that his firmness throughout the earlier part of the campaign might be said to have been their salvation.

His preparations for marching against Perth were completed early in January, when he found himself in command of upwards of ten thousand men, and also in possession of a field of artillery numbering nearly thirty guns. The only obstacle then remaining in his way, was the snow, which had fallen to a great depth, and, from the obduracy of the frost, seemed likely to continue a good while on the ground. The distance from Stirling to Perth was only between thirty and forty miles, which, in other circumstances, would have been but two days march. At the present, however,

even supposing that the snow was passable, there would have been a necessity of spending two nights at least, if not three, by the way. That prospect, at such a season, was almost intolerable ; for, as the insurgents had taken care to burn all the villages on the road, there was no other mode of lodging to be expected by the men, than that of sleeping in their cloaks upon the surface of the snow. The Duke of Argyle at first attempted to delay the march on this account ; but Cadogan, who perhaps had instructions to overrule all hesitating measures, insisted so much upon the necessity of obeying the commands of their constituents, that his Grace was obliged, on the 24th of January, to put the country people to the task of clearing away the snow, preparatory to a march.

Meanwhile, all was distraction in the Jacobite camp. The leading men, though aware that they could never expect to hold out against Argyle, made an apparent resolution, at a council on the 16th of January, to fortify the town. The men, accordingly, were employed without intermission from that day, in making the necessary defences ; and, if we are to believe one of their number, never were men more cheerful in the prospect of coming into collision with an enemy. The principal men did all they could to encourage this spirit ; still hoping, it would appear, that they might be strengthened before the day of trial by the return of the distant clans, but at the same time certain, that to express any fear, or a resolution to retreat, would just precipitate the ruin of their cause, and of themselves. The courage of the army had been wrought up, by mutual and long continued excitement, to a fictitious pitch ;

and the idea of giving up the enterprise was now so entirely out of the calculations of the common men, reduced though they were in number, that the first hint of a different feeling from the Cavalier, or his generals, would have probably caused a general mutiny, if not some more violent explosion.

Intelligence was at length received at Perth, January 28th, that the Duke of Argyle was next day to commence his march from Stirling with his whole army, and that, as he had two thousand men employed in clearing away the snow, he might be expected very speedily to make his appearance before their camp. There was immediately a great appearance of joy in the mass of the Cavalier army. The officers and gentlemen volunteers embraced each other in mutual congratulation, and drank to "the good day" which they thought at length on the point of arriving. The common soldiers and the clansmen are described by one who saw them, as having been rather like men preparing for a mirthful fête than for a mortal contest : their pipers played incessantly ; and they shook hands with each other, as men do when called to an occasion of social conviviality. In the Privy Council of the Chevalier, there was a very different exhibition of feeling.

The question proposed for debate in that assembly was, whether the army should post itself in the town and defend it, or march out and fight in the open fields. The first who gave an opinion was a French officer, of great repute in the army, and who was a skilful engineer. He said, that, if the weather were open, and supposing the enemy

able to lay a siege in the proper form, it would be impossible to hold out such an open place above five days; it would be but a sacrifice of men's lives to attempt to defend it. As the case now stood, however, he thought they might give a good account of themselves if besieged. The season was such, as not only to prevent the royal forces from digging trenches, and making the other necessary preparations, but would destroy them before they had well planted themselves before the town. The river being then frozen over, so as to be passable for both horses and carriages, the cavalry might be posted on the other side, in such a way as to receive those who might be pushed by the enemy, or advance to improve any advantage they might gain; and there was one little spot of ground near the town, (formerly the site of a windmill, and still containing a house surrounded by a dry moat), where a small body of foot, with four pieces of cannon, might put it out of the enemy's power to attack the town till such time as it should be dislodged.

The debate continued during the whole of that night; a fact in itself sufficient to show that there was no general or consistent sentiment among the leaders of the army in favour of fighting. The men next day caught alarm from their indecision, and were unbounded in their expressions of rage and disappointment. A notion began to possess them that they were betrayed and ruined by the poltroonery of their leaders. Under the influence of that feeling, they lost all regard to the rules of military subordination. Some of them were so bold as to ruffle the principal officers in the streets, called them cowards, and told them they betrayed

the King instead of advising him. A friend of the Earl of Mar entered into serious remonstrance on this score with a party which he observed in tumultuous conversation on the street. He asked, in some perplexity, what they would have their officers to do. "Do!" cried a Highlander; "what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the King come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men, and not like dogs." A gentleman from the braes of Aberdeenshire added, that the loyal clans should take the person of their monarch out of the hands of his present imbecile councillors; and then, if he was willing to die like a prince, he should find there were ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland, who were not afraid to die with him.

All this, however, was but the fervour of inconsiderate bravery and high-toned party feeling, exaggerated a little, perhaps, by a reflection on what the officers had done at Preston. The counsellors who were disposed to take a cool survey of their whole circumstances, saw, that to hold out in Perth was but to risk the very fate which had befallen that unfortunate division of their friends. The case was put into its proper point of view by the Earl of Mar, at a council held on the evening of the 29th. He had endeavoured, he said, ever since the battle of Sheriffmuir, to keep the army together, and put it into as good a posture as possible, having two expectations on which, as they all knew, their enterprise depended; the coming of the King, and the invasion of England by the Duke of Ormond. The first of these expectations had been happily realized; and they had also received many

supplies of money, arms, ammunition, and other stores, as well before as since his Majesty's arrival, not one vessel having fallen into the enemy's hands. The second of their expectations, however, had been in the meantime disappointed. The Duke of Ormond, on landing in England, had found his scheme entirely disconcerted by the imprisonment of most of those on whom he relied, while it was impossible for those who remained to assemble, without a foreign force to give them the protection they would at first require. The Scottish party, on whom the whole weight of the war had consequently fallen, instead of finding the support they expected in the sister country, had only been injured by that part of the design; for an immense portion of their supplies, which might have been of great service here if sent in time, had been reserved for the Duke of Ormond, till it was now too late. In the mean time, the army of the Elector of Brunswick had been strengthened by foreign assistance, so that it now greatly outnumbered their own forces. It therefore remained for the council to decide, whether they should attempt to hold out in Perth with their inferior army, or retire to some point farther north, where they might hazard a battle under more advantageous circumstances.

If we are to believe one retailer of secret intelligence,¹ the Earl had some reasons for counselling an abandonment of the enterprise, which he could not well expose to the council. The Duke of Orleans had assured him, that in a little time he should be able to lend the design a much more powerful assistance than at present, by getting the Turks to declare war against that grand ally of the reigning King of Britain, the Emperor of Ger-

many. He had also been assured that, if the enterprise were intermitted for some time, the disaster of the English Jacobites might be repaired, and a new invasion formed by the Duke of Ormond. He further depended on getting a great many of his friends insinuated into the new parliament which was about to be called. But the chief reason of all was, that a party of his officers and allies, among whom were the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly, in conspiring to make a treaty with the Government, had resolved upon surrendering the Chevalier's person to the Duke of Argyle, as a means of procuring good terms for themselves.

Whether any of these reasons were founded in truth or not, it seems certain that the insurgent army could not remain in Perth without the danger of utter destruction. It is true, that the weather was at present favourable to them, and unfavourable to the enemy; that they were in possession of a great quantity of provisions for a siege; and that the men were quite willing to undertake the hazard of such a step. The weather, however, might change in an hour, so as to deprive them of a great part of their defences. Their provisions would at length be exhausted; when the Duke of Argyle, scouring the country in all directions, would prevent them from getting the least supply from without; and it would be equally impossible for any foreign vessels to reach them by the Tay, so long as its banks were commanded by an enemy. They were already in great distress for want of coal; and the idea of being utterly deprived of that article at such a season, was almost in itself

enough to induce them to abandon the town.² Finally, the spirits of the men could not be expected to bear up long against the physical distresses of a protracted siege. In every view of the case, it was more advisable to give up the undertaking altogether for the present, than either to hazard an unequal battle with the enemy in the fields, or to run the risk of being taken like their friends at Preston. It is vain to accuse the Earl of Mar or his party of pusillanimity in resolving upon such a measure ; for it is plain, even throwing the comparison of hazards out of the question, that, since a large portion of his host was already irresolute, and there was a chance of such a spirit soon spreading further, he could not prudently attempt to defend the town, even although his own wishes had run never so strongly in favour of such a course. He had, besides, to consider the safety of the Chevalier's person, on which their interest so entirely depended.

The resolution to retreat was fully formed at the Privy Council on the evening of the 29th. But it was not till next day that it was promulgated to the army. A council of all the officers, both of the army and of the household, was called on that day, at Scone, to hear the reasons which had induced the King and his cabinet to come to this determination. They were simply these. The means of resistance seemed to be taken away by the various accidents of affairs which had been stated the night before ; it being equally impossible to fight a battle with so small a force, and to stand a siege in a town so ill-defended, and so inaccessible to supplies. It was necessary to fall back from Perth upon some post where they should be

more able to defend themselves, and where they might keep open a communication with their more distant friends. If the succours they expected should arrive in time, they might be in a condition to advance again, before the enemy could settle in Perth; if not, they might make their way to Aberdeen, and from thence by Strathspey into the Highlands. Though they were not able to fight the entire army of the enemy, they were yet too strong to be insulted by less than his whole force. Perhaps his army would be lessened as he came in pursuit, by his leaving garrisons behind him, or by fatigue and the severity of the season. In that case, and especially if he followed them to the hills, where his horse would be of no service, they might fall upon him at such a disadvantage as to make victory certain.

While this face was put upon matters for the satisfaction of the men, secret resolutions were taken to ship off the Chevalier and his principal officers at Montrose, as they should pass northwards, and that the army should disperse itself in the Highlands so soon as circumstances would permit. Accordingly, a French officer and a clergyman were sent forward to Dundee, to order three ships which had recently arrived there from France with supplies, to sail round the coast to Montrose, and there to wait a signal which should be made to them from a boat near the shore. As it was necessary to keep this affair a profound secret, lest the men getting intelligence of it should be tempted into some dreadful manifestation of resentment, the crews of these vessels were not permitted to come ashore, but were commanded to sail immediately; a report being at the time

spread in the town, that they were going to land the remainder of their stores somewhere in Fife.³

When the resolution to retreat was communicated for certain to the men, they expressed the most violent rage and grief; and though it was of great importance to keep themselves as much in a body as possible, about eight hundred of the Highlanders went off that night in disgust, taking the way by Dunkeld towards the central Highlands. The intelligence, also, produced inexpressible consternation in the civilian friends of the cause, such as the clergy, the merchants, and others at Perth, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government by aiding or countenancing the proceedings of their armed friends, or by making public acknowledgment of the Chevalier as their sovereign. It was on the 30th of January that the resolution was promulgated; and all remarked, that the day which had witnessed the murder of their prince's grandfather at the gate of his palace, was now consecrated forever as a fatal day to the House of Stuart, since it had produced a second misfortune to that race scarcely less to be deplored.

The morning of the 31st of January being appointed for the commencement of the march, James came on the evening of the 30th to Perth, where he supped in the house of Mr Hay, the Jacobite provost of the town. During that night none went to bed, except such as had nothing to remove: all the rest busied themselves in packing up for the march, or in taking a melancholy farewell of the friends and mistresses they were to leave behind them. At an early hour in the morning, they began to file off across the surface of the

Tay, which, though a deep and rapid river, had been covered so thickly with ice, during the late extraordinary frost, as to bear both horse and man. Before the afternoon was far spent, the whole had got safely over, and were in full march along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee.

The royal army did not quit Stirling till the 29th of January. Advancing that day to Auchterarder, one of the villages which had been burnt by the insurgents, they slept all night upon the snow, without any other shelter than what was afforded to a few of their number by a range of blackened and roofless walls. Next morning, a party of two hundred dragoons and four hundred foot went forward in advance of the rest, to protect the country people who were clearing away the snow, and to beat up the Castle of Tullibardine, which was an outpost of the insurgent army. The garrison which had been left in the house being too small to resist, it capitulated with the royalist party; and a lodging was thus afforded for the officers of the army at the close of their second day's march. The Duke of Argyle had himself advanced in the evening to Tullibardine, intending to make it his abode for the night; but being informed when he arrived that the enemy had retreated that forenoon from Perth, he took four hundred dragoons and a thousand foot, under his command, and advanced by the light of the snow to their evacuated post, where he arrived at two o'clock next morning, only twelve hours after the last of the insurgents had left it.

When the main body of the army got to Perth next day, they were found so much injured by the fatigue of their march and the coldness of their

two last night's quarters, as to be unable to follow up the pursuit any farther with the necessary spirit. It is even supposed that, if the Chevalier had then turned back and fallen upon them, they would have been an easier prey to his sword than he had previously feared he would be to theirs. It was not till after one whole day of rest, that the Duke could make up a select party of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and eight hundred of his own Highlanders, to advance from Perth with himself, in order to harass the rear of the retreating army. That party marched to Ewel on the 2d of February, and next day to Dundee, where the mass of his army arrived on the 4th. On this march, it was remarked with jealousy by the regular portion of his troops, that he gave his vassals the preference of going before the rest to pillage the country, while the others were forbidden to take the value of a farthing under the pain of death.⁴

The insurgent army, who had the start of their pursuers by two entire days, arrived at Montrose on the 8d. The men, who had previously wondered to find their march directed towards the coast instead of the centre of Angus, were now seriously alarmed at seeing two or three French vessels lying in the roads at a little distance from the shore. A rumour began to circulate amongst them, that the principal officers had advised the Chevalier to embark here for France; and immediately the rage which they expressed at Perth on account of the resolution to retreat, was renewed with even a keener flame. The leaders were perplexed to the last degree by the suspicions of the men; but, to allay them as much as possible, a march was or-

dered that night instead of next morning, and, while the Chevalier's guard was ordered to parade before his lodgings, as was customary before he mounted, his baggage was sent forward with the main body of the army, as if he intended to follow. In possession of this pledge for his continuance with them, they proceeded with reassured minds; but they were next day informed, with mortification and horror, that he had broken his insufficient bail, and realized all their worst fears.

It was not but with the greatest reluctance, nor without many anxious remonstrances against the opinions of his counsellors, that the unfortunate son of James the Second consented to take this step. Even at the very last, he pleaded fervently to remain to share the fate of his friends. Every hardship, he said, every danger, he was willing to endure with the men who had sacrificed their all with so much zeal and alacrity for his service. It appears that the only argument by which they could finally prevail upon him to embark, was, that it would be far more easy for the wreck of the army to procure terms from the Government without him than with him.

He employed the last hours he was to spend in Scotland, in drawing up a commission by which General Gordon was appointed commander-in-chief, with powers to treat with the enemy for an armistice. Reserving only a small sum of money for himself and suite, he left all that he had besides to General Gordon for the subsistence of the troops. It is also gratifying to think that, in this his own dark hour of sorrow, his mind adverted with tender solicitude to the miseries which he had innocently brought upon others. He accompanied

the money by a letter to General Gordon, directing that the remainder, whatever it was, should be left to compensate the losses of the inhabitants of the villages which he had caused to be burnt.

That he left such a letter, was first stated in a journal of proceedings published with the sanction of the Earl of Mar in France; but the Whig historians, who exclaim with senseless rancour about his cruelty in burning the villages, have always hitherto doubted that he did so. The present writer is fortunately able to vindicate his character on this interesting point, by presenting not only the letter he left with General Gordon, but also one which he wrote upon the same subject, and in connexion with the other, to the Duke of Argyle. The following copies are taken accurately and directly from the originals, which have been preserved in the venerable cavalier family of Fingask; and it is anticipated, that few will peruse the first of the series, without sympathizing warmly with the feelings of the ill-fated writer, or being sensibly struck with the singularity of his situation, in thus addressing the man who had driven him from the kingdom.

“ FOR THE DUKE OF ARGIL.

“ *Monross, 4th February 1716.*

“ It was the view of delivering this my ancient kingdom from the hardship it lay under, and restoring it to its former happiness and independency, that brought me into this country; and all hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me, I have been reduced, much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the

kingdom, with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me, or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them, since that was the only way left me to shew them the regard I had for, and the sense I had of, their unparalleled loyalty.

“ Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunat expedition, that of being forced to burn several villages, &c. as the only expedient left me for the publick security, was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it, must be answerable for, not I; however, as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some provision to repair that loss, I have therefore consigned to the Magistrats of — the sum of ———, desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of your country, to take care that it be employd to the designd use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. Whether you have yet received my letter, or what effect it hath had upon you, I am as yet ignorant of; but what will become of these unhappy nations is but too plaine. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people; and I fear they will feel yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yolk to that obedience they owd me: and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency, have to answer for? But, however things turn,

or Providence is pleased to dispose of me, I shall never abandon my just right, nor the pursuit of it, but with my life ; and beseech God so to turn at last the hearts of my subjects, as that they may enjoy peace and happiness, by submitting to what their interest and duty equally require of them. As for your own particular, you might, if you had pleased, joined interest and greatness in your own person ; but, though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them, since you are it not to me. 5

“ I thought to write this in my own hand, but had not time.

“ JAMES R.”

“ General Gordon is hereby empowered, as soon as he has no other further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward, if he thinks fitt, the enclosed letter to the Duke of Argil, and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money, and the sum he shall leave.

“ JAMES R.”

At nine o'clock of the evening of the 4th, the unfortunate Chevalier went from his lodgings on foot, attended by only one of his domestics, to the lodgings of the Earl of Mar, and from thence, by a private way to the water-side, where he went on board a small boat, along with his Generalissimo. A few hours before, on James naming the Earl as one of those whom he wished to accompany him in his flight, his Lordship had expressed

a strong desire to remain behind with the army. But the Chevalier had represented to him that there was nearly the same reason for his going, as there was for his own departure; that the army would be able to make better terms, or to disperse more easily, without him than with him. About a quarter of an hour after, two other boats, containing some of the principal personages of the Chevalier's suite, with a few more gentlemen who were peculiarly obnoxious to the Government, went also out to the little vessel in waiting for them; after which it immediately stood out to sea. He landed safely, seven days after, at Wal-dam, near Gravelines, betwixt Dunkirk and Calais.

The intelligence of this transaction caused a great number of the insurgents to break off and seek refuge in the neighbouring recesses of the Gram-pians; so that little more than a thousand accompanied General Gordon in a body to Aberdeen. On arriving at that place, Gordon opened a paper of instructions which his master had committed to his hands, and found himself requested to inform his followers, that the disappointments their sovereign had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him, much against his will, to leave the country; that he thanked them for their hearty and faithful services; wished them to advise with General Gordon as to whether they should be safest in a body or dispersed; and assured them that he would continue to watch over their interests, under whatever circumstances he or they might be placed in future. Gordon at the same time informed them, that henceforward they should receive no regular pay.

They quitted Aberdeen on the 7th, and next

day the advanced party of the Duke of Argyle took possession of the same town. Their main body proceeded westwards through the province of Moray, pursued at a little distance, but never overtaken, by the royal army. As they went, they gradually diminished in number. One party of about a hundred gentlemen procured shipping at Peterhead and Fraserburgh, and thus made a direct escape to France. The small host which remained, retired up the vale of Strathspey towards the wilds of Badenoch and Lochaber, where at length they were left unannoyed by an enemy which could not follow them farther. Such was the extreme care with which they managed their march, that, out of the whole of their broken host, scarcely a hundred were any where seized by the royalists betwixt Perth and Strathspey.

Some time after, when all the Low Countries were completely possessed by the King's forces, a party of about a hundred and sixty gentlemen, including Lord Duffus, Sir George Sinclair, General Ecclin, and Sir David Threipland of Fingask, descended with singular daring through the plains of Moray, and taking boat at Burgh-head, sailed across the Moray Firth to Caithness. This gallant little band afterwards got over to the Orkney Islands, and procured the means of escape in some French ships, which had been stationed for them on those lonely seas. As no man of any distinction was seized by the royal troops, and the common people were too obscure to be worthy of the vengeance of the Government, a few months saw Scotland in almost the same condition as that in which it had been before the insurrection.

NOTES

TO THE

REBELLION IN 1689.

CHAP. I.—INTRODUCTORY.

1 *Literæ humaniores*, human or classical learning, in distinction from *literæ diviniore*s; the phrase used to express theological or divine literature.

2 Dalrymple's *Mémoires*, vol. i. Part II. p. 46.—Continuation of Collier's Supplement to Morery's Great Historical Dictionary, London, 1705.—*Mémoires of Viscount Dundee*, London, 1711.—Wood's *Peerage*, *voce* Graham, Viscount of Dundee.

3 Dalrymple's *Mem.* 11, 2, 46.

4 Now consecrated to immortal history by the name of "the Scots Greys."

5 There is another portrait of Claverhouse at Lee House in Lancashire—a bust, representing him with a somewhat different cast of countenance. I derive the circumstance about his ringlets from a recent topographical publication connected with the north of Scotland, of which I have forgot the title, but where I remember it was mentioned as a fact taken from tradition at only two removes of evidence.

CHAP. II.—THE REVOLUTION.

- 1 Crichton's Memoirs.
- 2 Crichton.
- 3 Family Memoir quoted in Wood's Peerage, 11, 169.
- 4 Reported from tradition by Sir John Dalrymple.
- 5 Memoirs of Great Britain, 1771.
- 6 Crichton's Memoirs. Life of Viscount Dundee.
- 7 Balcarres's Memoirs.
- 8 Minutes of the Convention, MS. Advocate's Library.
- 9 Minutes of the Convention.

CHAP. III.—COMMENCEMENT OF DUNDEE'S
INSURRECTION.

- 1 MS. in the possession of the Author.
- 2 Mackay's Memoirs, MS.
- 3 Life of Dundee, in Continuation of Collier's Supplement to Morery's Great Historical Dictionary. Folio, 1705.

CHAP. IV.—MARCHES AND COUNTERMARCHES.

- 1 Dundee's Memoirs. Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain.
- 2 Macpherson's Original Papers, 1, 362.

CHAP. V.—THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKY.

- 1 The Water of Banovy, near Blair Castle.
- 2 Balcarres's Memoirs. General Stewart's Highland Regiments.
- 3 Balcarres's Memoirs.
- 4 Tradition in Athole.
- 5 "Life of Donald M'Bane," a sword-player, who was in his army.
- 6 Highland tradition says nineteen hundred Highlanders and three hundred Irish, which is amazingly near the usual historical accounts.
- 7 Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. Part II. p. 56.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Highland Poem.

10 M'Bane's Life.

11 General Stewart's Highland Regiments, vol. i. p. 66.

12 Macpherson's Original Papers, i, 369.

13 An epithet of contempt.

14 Mackay's Memoirs, MS.

CHAP. VI.—ANECDOTES OF THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKY.

1 "SIR: It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there have not escaped above 1200. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and enemy's baggage; which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to what ever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty, the kingdom is generally disposed to your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurances for it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours—DUNDEE.

2 Balcarres's Memoirs. Life of Dundee in Supplement to Collier's Dictionary.

Highland tradition gives a somewhat different account of Dundee's death, which may be presented here in the unpretending form of a note.

Clavers, says the venerable authority I am quoting, had been told by his nurse of some water or river, taking its

name from the word *goose* or *geese*, that would chance to prove fatal to him. He had also, when a child, got hold of a toad, which he ate half up before he was discovered. When his nurse heard what he had done, and that the mischievous creature had been taken from him and thrown away, she remarked, "Then you have marred my child in the midst of his glory." On his coming into Athol to fight with Mackay, he inquired, very particularly, if there were any river or stream of any kind, which bore the name of the Goose; and, on being assured that there was not, he is said to have appeared pleased.

Mark, however, the unerring certainty of fate. The house of Rinrory or Urrard, stood exactly in the centre of the field of battle. There was a considerable stand made, under favour of its enclosures, by Mackay's soldiers; but as the battle swept away into the vale, many of these thought it advisable to take refuge in the house. In a little while, every recess, throughout its various apartments, was filled with frightened and wounded soldiers; some beneath beds, some behind chests, and others in presses and closets. Many died where they lay of fright or wounds, and were not discovered till their bodies began to putrify. One unfortunate soldier was found, some years afterwards, in a deserted garret. Among the rest, was Captain Alexander Campbell of Finab, (a gentleman of the district, who had joined the Revolution party).

Dundee had occasion, in directing the evolutions of his men, to ride past Urrard House. As he passed it, he saw his friend and ally, the gallant Laird of Pittcur, lying severely wounded on the ground. He stopped a moment, to inquire regarding the Laird's condition; and in speaking to the unfortunate gentleman, he leant over the shoulder of his horse. Captain Campbell spied him in that attitude from his place of refuge in the house; and taking aim over the sill of a window which is still shown by the natives, shot him with a bullet in the small of the back, exactly below the edge of his mail. Strange to say, the spot where he was standing at the time, was called the *Goose-Dub*, being simply the puddle in which the Laird of Urrard's geese were wont to recreate themselves!

The wound at first was not thought mortal, nor did it occasion him much inconvenience. He continued, for some time afterwards, to give directions, and to receive his officers, on a little knoll near the place; which, for that

reason, has been called *Tomn Cleabhrs*, the hillock of Claverhouse.

There are various other traditionary theories regarding Dundee's death. One represents him as having been slain by a West-country Whig, whose family he had ruined—who had consequently entered into his service as a valet, to lie in wait for an opportunity of assassinating him—and who, finally, found that opportunity in the confusion of the battle, when he shot him with a silver button ; it being a superstition of this sect that lead had no power to penetrate his body. It is commonly affirmed, that the shot took effect at the moment he was pointing the pursuit with his sword ; in support of which theory, Sir Walter Scott informs us, in the notes to his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, that the buff-coat he wore at the battle, (which is now preserved at Pennycuik House), is penetrated at the armpit. But I am rather inclined to think, after a careful consultation of the best authorities, that he was wounded in the lower part of the body.

A Lowland Cavalier story, which has never hitherto been noticed in print, ascribes the fate of the hero to a passion which William, third Viscount of Kilsyth, (not then come to the peerage), entertained for his lady ; and Lady Dundee herself, is said to have been so thoroughly convinced of this, that, on the *New-Year's morning* which succeeded, she sent the supposed assassin a white nightcap, a pair of white gloves, and a rope, being a sort of suit of canonicals for the gallows, either to signify that she esteemed him worthy of that fate, or that she thought the state of his mind might be such as to make him fit to hang himself. After all, as the story proceeds to say, Lady Dundee, like Queen Mary, consented to marry the suspected murderer of her husband. The old Lady Claverhouse, mother to Lord Dundee, was much shocked at the match, which offended her moral sense in much the same way as the union of Hamlet's mother and uncle disgusted that most philosophical of princes. It is said, that when she received an account of the nuptials, she knelt down and fervently prayed to God, that, should he see fit to permit the unworthy couple to go out of the world without some visible token of his indignation, he would be pleased to make her some especial revelation, to prevent her from utterly disbelieving in his providence and justice ; one of the most emphatic prayers, perhaps, ever uttered. Her

daring request was strangely fulfilled. The Viscount Kilsyth, eventually engaging in the insurrection of 1715, was obliged to seek refuge in Holland. Thither he also took his lady. On landing at the Hague, it was found impossible to procure a lodging, on account of the town being accidentally crowded by some public festival. They found a lodging in the country. They were there residing, when, one night, the house fell above them, killing the faithless relict of Claverhouse, her child, and a servant, while Lord Kilsyth himself was caught by the leg between some falling joists, and was compelled to hear the dying agonies of his wife and child, without being able to attempt their relief.

Lady Kilsyth and her child were embalmed, brought home to Scotland, and both laid in the sepulchral vault of the Kilsyth family at Kilsyth, where they were discovered in a state of perfect preservation, so lately as the year 1792.

3 It would be doing injustice to Dundee's memory to omit the beautifully classical elegy which Dr Pitcairn inscribed to his memory.

Ultimè Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite tunc,
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ:
 Te moriente, novus accepit Scotia cives,
 Accepitque novos, te moriente, Deos.
 Illa nequit superesse tibi, tu non potes filii,
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale:
 Tuque vale, gentis pristinæ fortissimè ductor,
 Ultimè Scotorum, ac ultimè Græmè, vale.

Translation by DRYDEN.

Oh, last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
 New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
 Scotland and thou did in each other live;
 Nor would'st thou her, nor could she thee survive.
 Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
 And could not fall but with thy country's fate!

4 Mr Alexander Stewart, residing at Pitlochrie.

5 The action commenced with the MacDonells.

6 It is impossible to say how many Highlanders fell in

the action. Dundee, in his own letter, says 900; but that is probably a misprint for ninety.

7 Many anecdotes are told in Athole of the great strength and determined character of Robert Stewart, the priest. Being once present at a meeting, where some of the parties quarrelled, he seized two men, and thrusting their heads under his arms, forcibly held them in that awkward situation; then, taking hold of other two with his hands, he cried to his friends, "Come, Sirs, exert yourselves; I cannot fight for you, but I will at least keep some of your enemies from engaging."

CHAP. VII.—SKIRMISHES OF DUNKELD AND CROMDALE.

1 The following candid character of Mackay is given in a work entitled, "*A Short Account of Scotland*," [London, 1702,] which appears to have been drawn up by one of the officers of his army:

"He was certainly an honest gentleman, a zealous Presbyterian, and brave enough, as appeared at Gilli-cranny, where, though his conduct was blamed, his courage was not, though the flight of his men forced him to give way. He was a good soldier, with sufficient qualifications to be a Colonel; but for a General officer, it seemed to be a preferment above his capacity. His ill conduct showed itself divers ways; First, His neglect of ammunition, when he marched into the Blair of Athol, the soldiers having a very slender provision of powder and ball. Then his going with so weak a force against a formidable enemy, who had many advantages in that place, and not only the mountains, but the people to favour 'em. His often marching the horse till it was dark night, when they were to encamp and forage, appeared very strange, when no reason could be offered for it; but, on the contrary, 'turns extremely dangerous, as well as inconvenient, to be moving at such an hour. His travelling up and down the country with great bodies of horse, without doing anything, and, for ought we could discover, without design to do: This looked as if he affected a *Cavalcade*, or *Progress*, more than a *War*, and had a mind to ruine the troops instead of subduing the country. Which, and the like instances, though frequently remonstrated against by the English officers, yet made no impression; but he went on

his way, that it might not be said he wanted those helps in the art of war, or that *they* knew 'em better than *he*."

Mackay must have been a man considerably advanced in life and experience at the time of the Battle of Killiecranky, as he informs us in his Memoirs, that he had been employed thirty years out of his native country, before returning to Britain with King William.

2 Mackay's MS. Macpherson's Original Papers.

3 Balcarres's Memoirs.

4 Accounts of the engagement embodied in "The Life and Dairy of Colonel Blackader." Edinburgh, 1824.

5 Cannan was not perhaps a bad officer; but he was unacquainted with the disposition of the Highlanders, and unable to manage so various and capricious a body of irregular troops. He is taxed by the Earl of Balcarres with the ludicrous oversight of having had more cannon at the skirmish of Dunkeld than he had ball, which probably arose from some disorder among his Celtic store-keepers. He lived for some months afterwards in the Highlands, in great disgrace with the natives; and if we are to believe a Whig work of the time, his retinue at last became so small, that he was one morning robbed of all his money (less than a hundred guineas) and most of his clothes, and then fairly left to find his way out of the country as he best might. He escaped to the Island of Mull, where he got protection from the Chief of Maclean till next year, when being joined by King James, in a commission with Major-General Buchan, he returned to the mainland, and fought in the campaign of 1690.

6 It fairly appears, from the history of this infamous transaction, that, when the usual systems of place and privilege are disorganized by a revolution, men of rank and education are liable to temptations of these sorts, exactly in the same way as the meaner orders of men are unable to abstain from seizing and helping themselves in the case of a shipwreck or fire. It was the only most violent of all the Presbyterian revolutionists who sold themselves on this occasion to King James. On the other hand, it is shocking to observe the cool duplicity of James's ministers. As the offering party had no views, but such as were purely selfish, so the party to whom the offer was preferred, made no scruple to give it a perfectly Jesuitical acceptance. They agreed to grant all that was demanded, with the utmost show of good will; but, in reality, determined to

keep very little faith with them when the time of remuneration should arrive. It should be at the same time distinctly stated—and this is a matter which many historians pass over too carelessly—that the great bulk of the Presbyterians, or, indeed, the whole body, were no more concerned in the plot than was King William himself. It was the project of only a few of their leaders or representatives, or rather of men who, for selfish reasons, had made themselves conspicuous by acting in their behalf.

7 Mackay's Memoirs, MS.

8 Hogg's Jacobite Relics, i. 204.

9 The Earl of Breadalbane was intrusted by King William with twenty thousand pounds, to be distributed among the clans. But he is supposed to have only spent a small portion of that sum, and to have retained all the rest, as the payment of his commission. Out of the faithlessness and the feudal prejudices of this nobleman arose the famous massacre of Glenco. It is related, that when he was afterwards called to account by a statesman for a particular statement of his disbursements to the clans, he said, "Why, my Lord, the money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and that is the only way of accounting among friends!"

CHAP. VIII.—ADVENTURES OF DUNDEE'S OFFICERS IN FRANCE.

1 Dalrymple's Memoirs.—Account of Dundee's Officers, 1711.

2 It is hoped that no offence will be taken on the other side of the Channel with this innocent anecdote. The Irish present at the siege of Roses were no doubt equally brave with the Scots. On the present occasion, in all probability, they were requested by their companions to remain inactive.

3 See his Memoirs.

NOTES

TO THE

REBELLION IN 1715-16.

CHAP. I.—INTRODUCTORY,

1 It is strange to observe, that many believe the present royal family to be now possessed of the hereditary, as well as the parliamentary, title to the throne. It is the most improbable thing in the world that they ever will. Besides the innumerable descendants of Charles the First, there exist many descendants of the elder branches of the family of Elizabeth of Bohemia—the two elder Roman Catholic brothers of Sophia—who would require to die out before such an event.

2 The Princess Sophia had died scarcely two months before the decease of Queen Anne. Her death was supposed to have been occasioned by a letter from the Queen, rejecting her proposal to have Prince George (afterwards George II.) established in England, and brought into Parliament as a British Peer, which had long been one of her favourite projects.

3 History of the Principal States of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht. London, 1826.

- 4 Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham.
- 5 History of Europe, ii. 10.
- 6 Mémoires de Berwick.

CHAP. II.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSURRECTION.

1 The Master of Sinclair, whose MS. memoirs are in the possession of the Earl of Rosslin.

2 Journal of the Earl of Mar's Proceedings, published in France by his own authority. History of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht.

3 Patten's History of the Rebellion of 1715, Part II. page 10.

4 Collection of Original Letters and Authentic Papers, relating to the Rebellion of 1715, p. 19.

5 Original Letters from the Earl of Mar, in the possession of the Earl of Kinnoul.

CHAP. III.—MAR'S DESCENT UPON THE LOWLANDS, AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND.

1 Annals of the Second Year of George I. p. 41.

2 Original Letters in possession of the Earl of Kinnoul.

3 Original Letters, *ut supra*.

4 *Ibid*.

5 Collection of Original Letters, &c. p. 20.

CHAP. IV.—EXPEDITION OF BRIGADIER MACINTOSH.

1 Peter Rae, author of the Dumfries History of the Rebellion of 1715.

2 A small village which stood on the spot now occupied by the Register House, Edinburgh.

3 Letter printed in the Appendix to Patten's History of the Rebellion.

4 The Master of Sinclair, writer of the manuscript formerly quoted as being now in the possession of the Earl of Rosslin.

5 Rae's History of the Rebellion, 289.

6 The man selected for this duty was a Captain Hunter, a noted horse-stealer, who, like many other Borderers of irregular life, had joined the insurgents purely for the

more convenient exercise of his calling. When it was told that Hunter had quartered his troop near Carpenter's camp, a gentleman who knew his character well, could not help exclaiming, "Then, by God, we'll hear no more of Carpenter's dragoons; Hunter will not leave them a horse to mount on!"

7 Annals of the Second Year of King George I. 128.

8 No town in Scotland distinguished itself so much as Dumfries by its loyalty during the insurrection of 1715. In fact, if we were to take our impressions from a "History of the Rebellion" written by a native of this town (Mr Peter Rae), we would suppose that Dumfries was the centre of the whole transaction, and that all that was done at Perth and Stirling and Edinburgh and Preston, was a mere episode. The musterings and the marches, the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets, the throwing up of new trenches and the knocking down of old walls, performed by this town, would amuse the reader very much. Among other loyal services which they rendered to government, it was not one of the least, perhaps, that they seized the person of Lord John Johnston, (brother to the Marquis of Annandale), a gentleman who had been one of King James's officers in Ireland, and who would unquestionably have raised his brother's retainers on this occasion in favour of the Chevalier, if he had not been imprisoned. But there were two reasons for their seizure of Lord John. It was partly done at the command of his brother the Marquis, who, although but an equivocal loyalist during the reign of King William, had ever since continued faithful to the existing government, and who now could think of no other plan for saving his less prudent brother, than that of clapping him into the tolbooth of Dumfries. It is the tradition of Lord John's family, that, after the insurrection was completely suppressed, the magistrates waited upon him at the prison, conducted him out in procession, and expressed a hope, as they parted with him, that he found no occasion to blame them for what they had done. It is not recorded how his Lordship replied to their compliments at that time; but, fifteen years after, on their waiting upon him again at his house, to compliment him on his birth-day, he sent them the following ironical letter, accompanied by a present of the pictures of King William and Queen Mary, which still remain in the town-hall of Dumfries.

" SIR,

" The great civilities the good town of Dumfries has been pleased to show my brother and his family, makes me earnestly wish for an opportunity to show them my sense of the obligation this lays upon both of us. King William and Queen Mary is so well, that I have chosen to send their pictures as a present to the corporation; and I hope, as I value those great deliverers, on public as well as private considerations, they will receive them as a pledge of my disposition to do all the good in my power to this county and burgh; and beg you would take the trouble to make these and my compliments acceptable to the corporation, which tie me to be still more,

" SIR,

" Your most humble servant,

" JOHN JOHNSTONE.

" *Dumfries, 30th August, 1730.*

" P. S.—I propose returning the civilities the town was so good as to show me in waiting on me on my birth-day, if I knew the day that will be convenient."

*Communicated by John Henry Goodinge, Esq.,
representative of Lord John Johnstone, and
claimant of the Annandale peerage.*

CHAP. V.—THE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR.

- 1 Letters and Proclamations, p. 51.
- 2 Wodrow Letters, MS., Advocates' Library, vol. 10.
- 3 Rae's History, 302.
- 4 Wodrow Letters, MS., Advocates' Library, vol. 10.
- 5 The Master of Sinclair's MS., *apud* Lord John Russell's History of Europe. Official Jacobite Account of the Battle of Sheriffmuir.
- 6 Enumeration of the Clans, at the end of Patten's History of the Rebellion.
- 7 Wodrow Letters, MS., Advocates' Library.
- 8 Rolls of the Muster-master General, November 30.
- 9 Patten's History, 98.

CHAP. VI.—AFFAIR OF PRESTON, AND SUPPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND.

- 1 Letter about the Occurrences on the way to, and at Preston. By an eye-witness, p. 4.

3 Patten's History.

3 Annals of King George, 11, 136.

4 Letter about the Occurrences on the way to, and at Preston. By an eye-witness.

5 Patten's History, 105.

6 General Willes's evidence at the trial of the Earl of Wintoun. State Trials.

7 The better order of the Preston prisoners were conveyed to London, while the common men were confined in various gaols near the place where they were taken. It may be proper here to relate the proceedings which the Government instituted for the punishment of these unfortunate persons.

"In the beginning of January, Mr Lechmere," (a leading speaker of the House of Commons), "after a speech of some length, moved to impeach Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Kenmure, and Nairn, of high treason. The same night, the articles of impeachment were carried up to the Lords, and on the next day the accused were brought to the bar of the House. They all pleaded guilty, except the Earl of Wintoun, who had further time allowed him. On the 9th of February, the impeached Lords were again brought to the bar, when, after the articles of impeachment and their answers had been read, Lord Cowper, who acted as Lord High Steward, pronounced the sentence of the law, according to its ancient and barbarous form.

"Great interest was made by their relations on behalf of the condemned Lords; and the House of Peers even carried up an address to the King, praying that he would reprieve such of them as should deserve his mercy. The King replied, that he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown, and the safety of his people. This resolute answer put an end to the hopes of the Jacobites. Lord Nottingham, who had supported the petitions in favour of the condemned Lords in the House of Peers, was a few days afterwards, together with Lord Aylesford, his brother, and Lord Finch, his son, removed from all his offices. Notwithstanding, however, this tone of severity, Lord Widdrington, Lord Carnwath, and Lord Nairn, were reprieved; the other three were ordered for execution; but Lord Nithisdale found means to escape from the Tower in disguise, the very night before the execution. The King, upon being told next morning, said,

• It was the best thing a man in his condition could have done.

“ The Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure were beheaded on Towerhill, on the 24th of February. Lord Derwentwater, before he died, asked permission to read a paper; which was readily granted to him. In this paper, he declared that he now repented of having pleaded guilty at his trial; ‘that he never owned any other but King James the Third, for his rightful and lawful sovereign, whom he had an inclination to serve from his infancy; and that he hoped his death might contribute to the service of his King and country, and the re-establishment of the ancient fundamental constitution of these kingdoms.’ After reading the paper, he looked at the block, and finding a rough place in it, desired the executioner to chip it off. Upon a signal given, his head was taken off at one blow. Lord Kenmure was executed immediately after; he made no speech, and delivered no paper; but, shortly after his death, a letter was published, in which he maintained the title of the person called the Pretender, whom he believed to be the true son of James the Second.’

“ Lord Wintoun, after a trial of some length, was likewise condemned to death; but afterwards made his escape from the Tower.

“ In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the Court of Common Pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Mr Forster, Macintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the Continent in safety; some time afterwards, Macintosh, and several other prisoners, likewise broke from prison, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel; some were retaken, but Macintosh and seven others escaped. The court proceeded with the trial of those who remained;—a great number were found guilty, and four or five were hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn. In Lancashire, two-and-twenty prisoners were executed; above a thousand submitted to the King’s mercy, and prayed for transportation.

“ In 1717, an act of grace was passed by the King and two Houses of Parliament, by virtue of which, the Earl of Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairn, were delivered from the Tower; seventeen other persons confined in Newgate; the prisoners in the Castles of Lancaster and Car

lisle, and those in the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, including the Viscount of Strathallan and Lord Rollo, were likewise set free.

“ Such was the treatment of the persons found in arms in this Rebellion. If we consider the object of the rebels, the blood which they spilt in their enterprise, and the necessity of securing the kingdom by some examples of severity from further disturbance, we shall probably be of opinion, that as much mercy was shown as was consistent with the safety of the established government, and the vindication of the rights of the people.”—*Lord John Russell's History of the Principal States of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. ii. p. 46.

See also the Sun Fire-office Register for 1715, a work published for the subscribers to that institution, and which contains many curious memorials of the times.

CHAP. VII.—ARRIVAL OF THE CHEVALIER IN SCOTLAND.

1 Journal of the Earl of Mar's Proceedings, published by his authority in France.

2 True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel, 12.

3 Sinclair's MS. *apud* History of Europe, vol. ii. p. 40.

4 Journal of the Earl of Mar's Proceedings, published by his authority in France, 24.

5 A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel, [the Master of Sinclair.] London, 1716.

CHAP. VIII.—CONCLUSION OF THE INSURRECTION.

1 The Master of Sinclair.

2 It is stated, moreover, in the Journal of Mar's Proceedings, that they had not at this critical time above three hundred pounds weight of powder.

3 True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel.

4 Coxe's Marlborough, iii. 612.

5 The above is written in the hand of a secretary. What follows, and also the order to General Gordon, are in James's holograph.

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